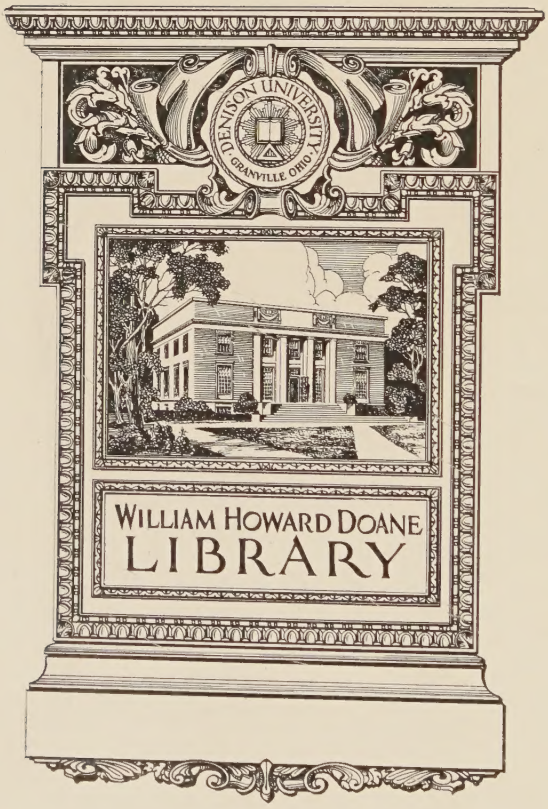
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THE ROYAL MARTYR

From a painting by Sir Anthony Van Dyck in the National Gallery. By permission of the Trustees.

KING CHARLES I.

[*Frontispiece*

THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE FIRST

THE ROYAL MARTYR

BY

CHARLES WHEELER COIT, M.A., B.D.
Member of the Memorial of Merit

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
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1926

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To

CAPT. HENRY STUART WHEATLY-CROWE

President of the Royal Martyr Church Union, and of the Royalist Association; Member of the Memorial of Merit; Author of "Royalist Revelations," Whose devotion of life and fortune to the Royal Cause emulates the loyal spirit of the Cavaliers of King Charles the First, this Volume, With sincere respect and admiration, is dedicated.

PREFACE.

In times of confusion, when the fountains of the great deep are broken up, when civilization, government, society, religion, are rocking on their foundations ; when selfishness, violence, avarice, dishonesty, are stalking through the world, and men know not how to meet them better than by yielding the old principles of moral and religious character, by a shallow opportunism, or by the search after new nostrums ; it is both refreshing and salutary to turn to the pages of past history, and to follow, through periods of like confusion and distress, the course of men who have stood for high religious and political principles, counting not the cost for conscience' sake.

Such an one was King Charles the First of England. The period, in which he lived, was one of the great epochs of change and catastrophe in history. It might be compared with the times of the Fall of the Roman Empire, the Protestant Reformation (of which, indeed, it was a part), the French Revolution, the Great War of 1914 and the years that have followed. Throughout the period, through the din of its Parliaments, the fanaticism of its controversy and the thunder of its battlefields, the character of King Charles shines bright and clear. His actions were guided by principle ; for his principle he fought and suffered ; and for his principle he died. Much has been written about

the life and times of King Charles. He has his devoted admirers, and his bitter enemies. In popular literature and in school textbooks he has been maligned. But "serious historians have ceased," says Lord Morley, "to stigmatize Laud as a bigot, or Charles as a tyrant. A theorizer the latter, doubtless, was, but, unyielding in fidelity to his standards of duty and material well-being, he was patient in facing the ceaseless buffets that were at last to sweep him down the cataract."

I write as a loyal follower of King Charles the First. I make my own sentiments, which I think must be attributed to Dr. J. B. Mozley, namely, that "a Christian monarchy claims allegiance on the ground of its responsibility to Heaven, and that chivalrous loyalty unconnected with the consecration of the Church is but a romantic shadow." I have tried to tell the story of the King's life, so that he who runs may read. It would be my chief satisfaction to know that my book had helped to correct the popular misapprehension. It would be my ambition to write the narrative directly from the original documents, as Mr. Allan Fea has done so admirably for the last years of King Charles' life in his great book, "Memoirs of the Martyr King," or as Mr. F. A. Mumby has treated the times of Henry VIII., Queen Elizabeth and Mary Stuart in his fascinating series of "History in Contemporary Letters." I can only hope that both of those accomplished students and writers may continue their work until they shall have given to the world the complete history of King Charles the First, as his contemporaries knew him. I do not fear the result.

Meanwhile, if my book contribute, in however small a degree, to a truer appreciation of the character of King Charles and of his defence of the Church

of England, I shall feel that my effort has been not in vain.

My indebtedness to writers of the past, as well as of the present, I acknowledge with gratitude. Their names are given in the list of authorities quoted. To Captain H. S. Wheatly-Crowe, President of the Royal Martyr Church Union, to James Dunn, Esquire, of Gloucester House, Malvern Wells, and to the Rev. J. Hermitage Day, D.D., for their valuable letters and answers to my inquiries, I desire to express my warm appreciation ; to Miss Phillimore, of Shiplake House, Henley-on-Thames, I am particularly grateful for her kind permission to use her notes on the *Eikon Basilike*, and for all the generous interest and invaluable assistance she has bestowed upon my book.

As I lay aside a work, which for years past has occupied my leisure with an absorbing interest, I can say with Baillie, that " His Majesty was ever the longer known the better loved of all that heard him, as one of the most just, reasonable, sweet persons they had ever seen."

Charles Wheeler Coit.

PRELUDE.

It is no slight privilege to be called upon to write a Prelude to the New Life of King Charles the Martyr, by Professor Coit.

His masterly handling of an episode in history, which is destined never to be forgotten, gives proof of the years of study and thought which he has bestowed upon his subject so that it would seem to be almost an impertinence to imagine that a Prelude could add anything to such a work.

Yet, on the principle that the effect produced by some striking piece of architecture demands an adequate approach in order to gain a due appreciation of the value of the work—in that capacity only the following thoughts, by way of retrospect, suggest themselves for consideration.

The year 1600 was drawing to its close when on November 19th Charles, second son of James VI. of Scotland, was born at Dunfermline Castle, in the County of Fife.

It was the first year of an eventful but ill-starred century which, before it had completed half its course would have to record such heavy tidings for posterity as the Civil War in England and the European Conflagration, called the Thirty Years War.

Looking back upon the moment when the rather weakly Prince was ushered into the world where he was to play so conspicuous, if so hapless a part, it appears at this distance of time like the calm that goes before a storm.

Elizabeth was still upon the Throne of England.

She had reached the zenith of her power and was reaping the fruit of her vigorous administration. In spite of advancing years she still held the sceptre with firm, relentless grasp, being fortunately supported by shrewd and clever advisers ; while she esteemed her Royal Prerogative

> " The chief flower in her garden,
> The principal and Head Jewel
> In her Crown and Diadem."

It was a jewel which could flash like fire, as, for instance, when in her last Parliament of 1601, the Commons protested against her Monopolies, they were given distinctly to understand that :

> " The Royal Prerogative was not to be canvassed, nor disputed, nor examined, and did not even admit of any limitation, that it was in vain to attempt tying the Queen's hands by Laws and Statutes, since by means of her dispensing powers she could loosen herself at her pleasure."

Could the absolute right of a Sovereign be more strongly, more definitely declared ?

Yet by a strange irony of fate, it was from Elizabeth that the people learnt the fatal lesson that it was possible and feasible to bring a Crowned Head—first of all to trial and then to execution.

Little did she think that within the half century this lesson would be turned against a successor on the Throne, over which in her reign she had maintained so jealous a guard, and that from that very Throne would pass to the Scaffold the grandson of the Queen she had so deliberately murdered.

It was indeed an awful legacy, a fatal travesty of justice only too readily seized upon in the succeeding century to cloak the instinct for murder, that inevitable sequel of anarchy, with its inseparable accompaniment military tyranny.

We have heard, and we continue to hear, great condemnation of the insult offered to the liberty of the people, as represented in the House of Commons, by the intended seizure of the five members who contravened King Charles' policy, a seizure which, by the way, was averted by the judicious flight of the impeached members.

But why did the modern historians of the last century make so little of the real seizure of the King himself by the Army in the Isle of Wight?

A captive in the hands of his enemies, after the failure of the Treaty of Newport, King Charles refused to save his life by flight.

The horses were ready at the door of the Council Chamber, the Cavaliers were in attendance beseeching their master with tears, to mount and be away, for they knew of the treachery waiting to betray him. The ship was ready to take him to France.

But—No—the King had pledged his word to the Parliament that he would not attempt to save his life by flight. On their side the Parliament gave their word that there would be no attempt made upon that life. The King kept his royal word. How did the Parliament keep theirs?

Hurried to London after his seizure, the mock trial of the King took place in Westminster Hall. At the end of it, the question of the execution of their King was referred to the House of Commons.

There was a majority of 47 members against the execution.

Where were the liberties of the people of England? When were they more insulted than when, by military force, the 47 members[1] who formed the majority

(1)—Rushworth II, 4, 1453-56.
Walker, "History of Independence," 11-29.

were arrested and imprisoned with every circumstance of contumely and hardship, nor released till after the murder had taken place?

The King was a victim of military tyranny. He was not condemned by any free vote of the House of Commons. Still less by the people of England. "Not a tenth part of them," as one brave woman had the courage to retort upon the judge who dared to pronounce the sentence in their name.

It is a noble privilege of which the learned writer of this new life of King Charles I. has fully availed himself to plead once more the cause and restate the case of England's Martyr King.

CATHERINE MARY PHILLIMORE.

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THE ROYAL MARTYR

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD.

1600—1612.

Origin of the House of Stuart—The Stuart Kings—James VI.—Anne of Denmark—Dunfermline—Birth of Charles Stuart—Baptism—Duke of Albany—Feeble health—Accession of James VI. to the Throne of England—Prince Charles left in Scotland—Brought to England—Created Duke of York—Court of James I.—The Gunpowder Plot—Colonies—Lady Arabella Stuart—Letters of Prince Charles—Investiture of Henry, Prince of Wales—Education of Prince Charles—Created Knight of the Garter—Goes a-Maying at Highgate—Death of the Prince of Wales—Prince Charles, heir to the Crown.

The Royal House of Stuart traced its descent from a family who held the hereditary office of Steward, or Seneschal, of Dol, in Brittany. Alan, a son of this Breton family of Stewards, "enjoyed the favour of King Henry I. of England (1100—1135) who gave him the barony of Mileham in Norfolk. Alan was the father of at least three sons: Jordan, who succeeded to the family office of Steward of Dol; William, who inherited the estate of his father in England, and who founded the great baronial house of Fitz Alan (afterwards Earls of Arundel); and Walter, who was made by David I. (1124—1153) Lord High Steward or Seneschal of Scotland."[1] Hence, the hereditary office, and in the course of time, the surname of Stewart, Steuart, or Stuart. The

(1) Encyc. Brit. (11th edition) vol. xxv., p. 911.

fourth Steward of the Scottish line was Alexander, who led the Scots against Haakon IV., King of Norway, in the Battle of Largs, October 2nd, 1263. This Alexander had two sons, James and John. The latter, who fought against Edward I. in the Battle of Falkirk, in 1298, was the ancestor of the Earls and Dukes of Lennox, from whom Lord Darnley, husband of Queen Mary, and also Lady Arabella Stuart, were descended. James Stewart, the elder son of Alexander, fourth Steward, succeeded his father in 1283, and, after distinguishing himself in the wars of Wallace and Bruce, died in 1309. His son Walter, sixth Steward, who had joint command with Sir James Douglas of the left wing in the Battle of Bannockburn, married Majory, daughter of Robert the Bruce, and during the absence of Bruce, in Ireland, Walter Stewart was entrusted with the government of Scotland. He died in 1326, leaving an only son, Robert, seventh Steward, who upon the death in 1371 of his uncle David II., son of Robert Bruce, without children, succeeded to the throne of Scotland as Robert II., and thus became the first King of the House of Stuart.

To no Royal House in history is attached more of the glamour of romance and tragedy than to that of the Stuart line. The stormy period, in which the Princes of the family lived, the turbulence of the great nobles, the political relations of the northern kingdom with its powerful neighbour south of the Tweed, the constant alliance between Scotland and France, the religious revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the personal graces of the members of the royal family, their beauty, their courage, their power to win and to hold the devoted loyalty of their servants, the fatal destiny which followed their fortunes—all of this raises the history

of the House of Stuart to the elevation of a great tragedy of the first rank.

Robert II., the first Stuart King, reigned from 1371 to 1390. He was succeeded by his son, Robert III. (1390—1406), whose eldest son, the Duke of Rothesay, was starved to death in prison by the King's brother, the Duke of Albany—a narrative immortalized by Sir Walter Scott in "The Fair Maid of Perth." To save his younger son, James, from a similar fate, King Robert was sending the young Prince to France, when he was captured on the high seas by the English, and detained a prisoner at the court of Henry IV. This Prince James is known as one of the first of Scottish poets. He married the Lady Joan Beaufort, whom he had courted when a prisoner at Windsor. He accompanied Henry V. to France, and was present at the Battle of Agincourt. He reigned as James I. of Scotland, nominally from 1406, but actually from 1424, until 1437, when he was assassinated at Christmastide, in the Dominican monastery at Perth, by the nobles whose lawlessness he had tried to restrain. The heroic courage of Catherine Douglas in her attempt to save the King is well known. The reign of his son, James II. (1437—1460), who married Mary of Gueldres, was a period of much disorder. The King himself was killed by the explosion of a cannon during the siege of Roxburghe Castle. James III. (1460—1488) married Margaret of Denmark. Defeated by the insurgent nobles, led by the Earl of Angus, at the Battle of Sauchieburn, the King took refuge at Beaton's mill, near Bannockburn, where he was overtaken and assassinated. His tomb and that of his queen, restored by the piety of Queen Victoria, may be seen in the ruins of Cambuskenneth Abbey on the banks of the Forth

near Stirling. James the IV. (1488—1513), who wore next his skin an iron belt in reparation for his opposition to his father, married Margaret Tudor, elder daughter of Henry VII., a marriage destined, through much intrigue and bloodshed, eventually to unite the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. James IV., who is introduced into the poem of "Marmion," lost his crown, and it is believed, his life, on the Field of Flodden. James V. (1513—1542), described in "The Lady of the Lake" as "the Knight of Snowdoun, James FitzJames," married in succession two French Princesses, first, Madeleine, daughter of Francis I. and secondly, Mary of Guise, widow of the Duc de Longueville, who, upon the death of James V., of a broken heart (after the defeat of his army at Solway Moss, and at the news of the birth of a daughter, instead of a son), acted for many years as Regent of Scotland for that daughter, the youthful Queen Mary. Even to-day, Scotland is full of memories of Mary, Queen of Scots (1542—1587). Portraits of her gracious beauty look down from many walls. Castles and battle-fields retain associations with her triumphs and her sorrows. Relics of her and of her handiwork are cherished still in Holyrood, and the traveller may follow the course of her imprisonment from castle to castle until the last tragedy of the block in the great hall of Fotheringhay. Queen Mary married in 1565 as her second husband Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, elder son of Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, descended from John Stewart, younger son of Alexander Stewart, fourth hereditary Lord High Steward of Scotland. The mother of Lord Darnley was Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret Tudor by her second husband, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus. Both Queen Mary and Lord Darnley were,

therefore, the grandchildren of Margaret Tudor, elder sister to Henry VIII. and both were descended from Alexander Stewart, fourth of his line, Queen Mary through the elder son James, fifth Steward of Scotland, and Darnley through the younger son John. Hence will be understood Queen Elizabeth's jealousy and resentment at this marriage. Queen Mary, owing no doubt to her residence in France, was the first to adopt the spelling "Stuart" by which the royal family usually has been known.

The only son of Queen Mary and Lord Darnley was James VI. of Scotland, who, upon the forced abdication of his mother at Lochleven, was proclaimed King July 24th, 1567. Although he had been baptised on December 17th, 1566, by the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, he was removed from his mother, and surrounded by Presbyterian influences, from which he was unable wholly to break away, until in 1603 he succeeded to the throne of England. It will be remembered that it was this King James, who, as James I. of England, presided over the Hampton Court Conference, and gave order for the new translation of the Bible, which is known as "King James' Version." Throughout his reign, the King was a staunch supporter of Episcopacy, partly because he regarded the Episcopal form of Church government as the strongest support of the Divine Right of the King. For King James entertained the highest conception of the absolute power of the Crown over affairs both civil and ecclesiastical in his kingdom. From his youth, the King had been trained in theological learning, and he never ceased to take a keen and active interest in the controversies of the times, maintaining the position of the Church of England as against both Roman recusants and Protestant separatists. It is important to dwell upon the peculiar

traits of King James' character and the special lines of his policy, for they form the background, as well as the inheritance, of the reign of his son, King Charles I. It has been thought that the circumstances of James' birth were responsible for his physical weaknesses and a certain timorousness, in which he differed from most of the princes of his family. His mother, Queen Mary, was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, when she was forced to witness the brutal attack of Darnley and his fellow conspirators upon her hapless secretary, David Rizzio. To supply the want of personal courage, which he seems, however, to have possessed on horseback and in the chase, King James resorted to duplicity and a cunning diplomacy, in which, as in theology, he fancied that he excelled. It has been said of him that no Scottish King knew his people, or was known by them, so well as "gentle King Jamie." For Scotland, he did what Louis XI. did for France, and the Tudors did for England—he strengthened the power of the Crown, which he attempted to maintain by policy rather than by force of arms. In Scotland, King James ruled well ; in England, his extravagance, his favouritism, his shifty policy, and above all his insistence upon the absolute power of the Crown, sowed the seeds for that terrible harvest which his son was to reap in the Great Rebellion and on the scaffold. No historian has painted a more vivid, or indeed a more accurate, portrait of King James I. than Sir Walter Scott in "The Fortunes of Nigel." The contrast between the garrulous, undignified, impecunious, shrewd old King and his stately son is well and truthfully drawn.

The Queen Consort of James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England, was Anne, daughter of Frederick II., King of Denmark and Norway, and his wife, Sophia

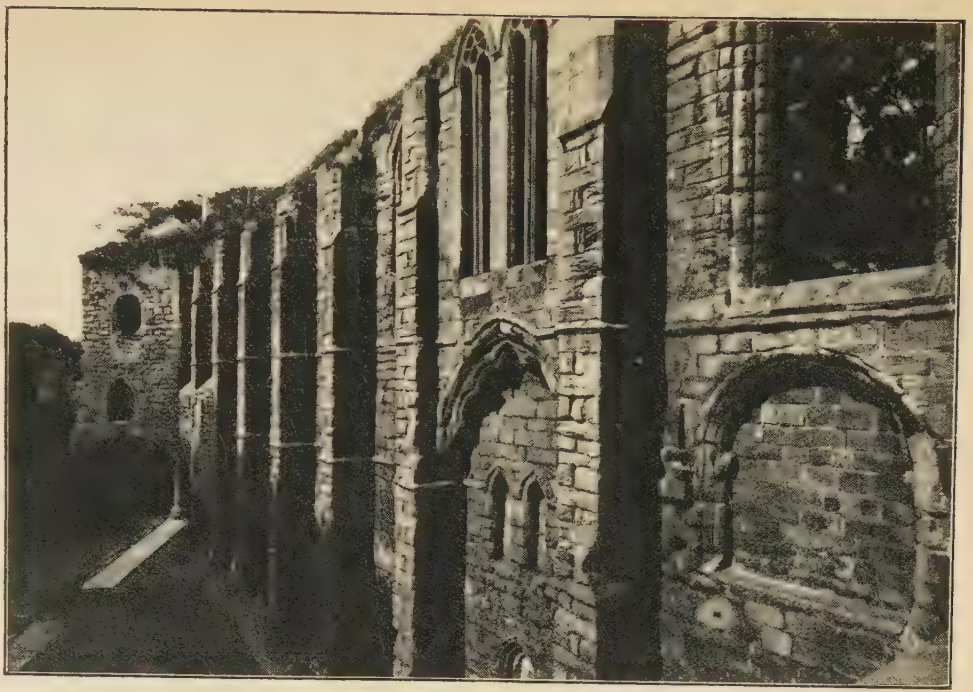
of Mechlenburg. On the 20th of August, 1589, Anne of Denmark was married by proxy to King James. "Her voyage to Scotland was interrupted by a violent storm (for the raising of which several Danish and Scottish witches were burned !), which drove her on the coast of Norway, whither the impatient James came to meet her, the marriage taking place at Opslo (now Christiania) on the 23rd of November. The royal couple, after visiting Denmark, arrived in Scotland in May, 1590."[1] Handsome, gay, fond of pleasure, and extravagant, sometimes petulant and imprudent, the Queen was, nevertheless, a faithful wife and a devoted mother. She seldom interested herself in public affairs, though when Sir Walter Raleigh appealed to her for protection, she used all her influence in his favour. She had been brought up a Lutheran ; but Scottish Calvinism repelled her, and, it is said, she was inclined towards the Church of Rome. She was crowned with her husband at Westminster in 1603, though she refused to receive Holy Communion at that time. She communicated once subsequently, and attended occasionally the Anglican services. She favoured the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Spanish Infanta, while she disapproved of that of her daughter Elizabeth with the Elector Palatine. But these sentiments are to be attributed rather to the Queen's ambition for great continental alliances for her children than to her religious predilections. The Queen was claimed as a convert by the Jesuits ; but on her death-bed, when she was attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, she used expressions, which were interpreted in a different sense. Besides several children, who died

(1) Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. ii., p. 70, *et sequen.*; Strickland, "The Queens of England," vol. vii., 246—255.

in infancy, Queen Anne was the mother of Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, who died in 1612; Charles, afterwards King Charles I.; and Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia.

Before the days of the great bridge across the Forth, the traveller might set out, like Mr. Jonathan Oldbuck, in the Edinburgh coach for Queensferry, whence, after crossing the firth by ferry, he might pursue his pleasant morning's drive through Fifeshire to the ancient burgh of Dunfermline—a place full of historical associations.[1] Here was solemnised in 1070 the marriage of Malcolm Canmore and his queen, Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling—St. Margaret of Scotland. Here, in 1075, were laid the foundations of the Benedictine Priory, raised to the rank of an Abbey by David I. Within the precincts of Dunfermline Abbey were buried more of Scotland's royal dead than in any other spot in the kingdom, excepting only Iona. Here is the tomb of St. Margaret. Here is the grave of Robert Bruce, whose heart was placed behind the High Altar of Melrose Abbey. The Palace of Dunfermline, occupying a picturesque position near Pittencrief Glen, was a favourite residence of many of the Scottish Kings, especially of James IV., James V. and James VI. Together with Falkland, Dunfermline was a dower-house of Queen Anne, the consort of James VI. And hither, in the autumn of 1600, after the shock of the Gowrie Conspiracy, the peril of the King, the tragic deaths of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, and the banishment from her household of her favourite maid of honour, Beatrice Ruthven, Queen Anne retired to await her approaching confinement. At Dunfermline, then, under the shadow of these tragic circumstances, in the home of his an-

[1] Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. viii., 679.



From a photograph by Francis C. Inglis, Edinburgh.

THE PALACE, DUNFERMLINE.

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cestors, close to the resting-place of the great dead of his line, amidst natural surroundings of romantic beauty, was born on November 19th, 1600, Charles Stuart, second son of King James VI. and Queen Anne. "I first saw my wife," said King James when the news was brought him, "on Nov. 19, on the coast of Norway; she bore my son Henry on Feb. 19, my daughter Elizabeth on Aug. 19, and now she has given birth, at Dunfermline, to my second son, on the anniversary of the day on which we first saw each other, the 19th of November, I being myself born on the 19th of June."[1]

The King went to visit the Queen at Dunfermline, and found her very ill. The new born prince was so weak and languishing, that the King ordered his baptism immediately, according to the rites of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Two dates are given, by different authorities, for the baptism of Prince Charles—December 23rd, 1600, when, owing to the uncertain health of the royal infant, he was baptised privately at Dunfermline, and December 30th, 1600, when the public baptism was performed with great splendour by David Lindsay, Bishop of Ross, in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood, the godfathers being the Prince de Rohan and his brother M. Soubise. The name Charles was given him, after his father, whose full name was Charles James, "Charles" being in honour of Charles IX., of France, who had been godfather to James VI., and also the name of King James' uncle (Lord Darnley's brother), Lord Charles Stuart. At his baptism, the little Prince was created Duke of Albany in the peerage of Scotland.

Prince Charles passed the first years of his life at Dunfermline, where he was brought up under

(1) Strickland, vol. vii., 283, 284.

the governorship of Alexander Seton, Lord Fife, created Earl of Dunfermline. Like all the other children of his parents, the Prince was a feeble and sickly child ; in fact, his weakness was so extreme, that his life was despaired of. But owing to the good care of his governess, Lady Carey, who succeeded Lord Fife in 1605, and to his constant exercise in out-of-door sports, in which he excelled—horsemanship, hunting, the game of bowls and golf—he outgrew his weakness, and developed into a well-formed, healthy manhood. Scotland was not less beautiful three hundred years ago than it is to-day, and the earliest impressions of the royal child must have been affected deeply, if unconsciously, by the scenery of his native land. There is standing yet in what remains of the old palace of Dunfermline, the arch of one of the windows of the chamber, in which Prince Charles was born, and the prospect from that ruined arch of the fair county of Fife stretching away to the Forth, is one of great beauty.

Upon the accession of James VI. on March 24th, 1603, to the throne of England, the King left his family in Scotland, while he himself with but few attendants undertook the hazardous journey to London. He was followed two months later by the Queen and Prince Henry and the Princess Elizabeth. But "Baby Charles" as he was called familiarly by his parents, was left behind, partly for the purpose of retaining the attachment of the Scottish people to his family, and partly because the child's health was too feeble to permit him to take the journey. The little Prince was left, therefore, at Dunfermline, under the care of Lord Fife, who wrote to the Queen : "Your sacred Majesty's most noble son, Duke Charles, continues (praised be God !) in good health, good courage, and lofty mind, although yet weak in body,

is beginning to speak some words. He is far better as yet of his mind and tongue, than of his body and feet, but I hope in God, he shall be all well princely, worthy of your Majesty, as his grace is judged to be by all very like in lineaments to your royal person."

In the summer of 1604, however, the Queen's maternal affection prevailed upon King James to command Lord and Lady Dunfermline to bring Prince Charles to England. On July 7th of that year, the Prince was met by his mother at the seat of Sir George Fermor in Northamptonshire, whither he had been brought by slow stages from Scotland by Lord and Lady Dunfermline and Sir Robert Carey, his Master of the Robes. It was Lady Carey, Sir Robert's wife, who nursed the young Prince back to health.

While his elder brother, Henry, became Prince of Wales, Prince Charles was created on January 6th, 1605, Duke of York and Knight of the Bath ; on which occasion the little Prince, who could not walk, was carried in arms by Lord Howard of Effingham, the hero of the Spanish Armada.

The accession of James and his Queen to the new and splendid dignity of sovereigns of England and Ireland brought a corresponding change to the life of their family and court. After the *res angusta domi* of the Scottish Court, coupled with the restrictions of Scottish Calvinism, the wealth of England and the magnificence of such palaces as Whitehall and St. James', Windsor and Hampton Court, to say nothing of the attractions of Sheen, or Richmond, and Greenwich, of the Queen's houses of Oatlands and Nonsuch, and of the King's favourite abode at Theobalds, produced a reaction of dissipation and extravagance, which disturbed the older English nobles who remembered the stately decorum of the

Court of Elizabeth. "Twice in the week, the King devoted himself to the amusements of the cockpit; day after day, the chase kept him in the saddle from morning until evening," when the fatigues of the day rendered him unfit for the business of the kingdom and disposed him to the indulgences of the table and the festivities of the Court.[1]

The first years of King James' reign in England were disturbed by the plots known as the Main and the Bye, and the notorious Gunpowder Treason of the 5th of November, 1605. It had been a part of the plan of the conspirators of this last to seize the persons of the royal children, and to Percy, as one of the gentlemen pensioners, had been assigned the task of securing possession of the young Prince Charles, then not quite five years old. The plot failed; but it produced the natural effect of more stringent treatment of Romanists, and of the yearly commemoration of the deliverance of the King and his Parliament from so great a peril.

This was the age of the beginnings of the British Colonial Empire. In 1605, Barbados, the oldest British colony, was founded. The settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, named in honour of King James, followed in 1607. The James River retains his name. The Capes Henry and Charles, at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, bear the names of the two royal princes. The Charles River at Boston, Massachusetts, was called so after Prince Charles, while Cape Anne on the Massachusetts coast was named for James' Queen.

In the immediate circle of the royal family these years were marked by the imprisonment and death in the Tower of the King's own cousin, the unfortunate Lady Arabella Stuart, for marrying William

(1) Lingard, "History of England," vol. ix., 81.

Seymour, who, like herself, was a descendant of Henry VII., and a possible claimant to the Crown.

The following juvenile letters of Prince Charles belong to this period :—

(1) Charles, Duke of York, to Prince Henry.[1]

"Nothing can be more agreeable to me, dearest brother, than your return to us ; for to enjoy your company, to ride with you, to hunt with you, will yield to me supreme pleasure. I am now reading the *Conversations of Erasmus*, from which I am sure I can learn both the purity of the Latin tongue and elegance of behaviour. Farewell !

"Your Highness' most loving brother,

"CHARLES, DUKE OF YORK AND ALBANY."

Directed "*Fratri carissimo*," and endorsed 1609.

(2) Charles, Duke of York, to the King.[2]

"SWEET, SWEET FATHER,—

"i learn to decline substantives and adjectives. Give me your blessing.

"i thank you for my best man.

"Your loving son,

"YORK."

"To my father, the King."

(3) Charles, Duke of York, to the Queen.[3]

"MOST WORTHY MISTRESS,—

"Seeing I cannot have the happiness to see your Majesty, give me leave to declare by these lines the duty and love I owe to you, which makes me long to see you. I wish from my heart that I might help to find a remedy to your disease, the

(1) Halliwell, "Letters of the Kings of England," vol. ii., 114.
(2) Ibid, 117.
(3) Ibid, 118.

which I must bear the more patiently, because it is the sign of a long life. But I must for many causes be sorry ; and specially because it is troublesome to you, and has deprived me of your most comfortable sight, and of many good dinners ; the which I hope by God's grace shortly to enjoy. And when it shall please you to give me leave to see you, it may be I shall give you some recipe, which either shall heal you or make you laugh ; the which wishing I may obtain by your majesty's most gracious favour, kissing in all humility your most sacred hands, and praying for your health and long prosperity, I end, most worthy mistress,

"Your majesty's most humble and obedient
" servant,
"CHARLES."

On May 31st, 1610, the royal family, Prince Charles among them, watched from the gallery of the old palace of Westminster the arrival of Prince Henry from Richmond, to be invested as Prince of Wales. On June 1st, there was a court masque, in which the Queen, Prince Charles and many ladies took part. Prince Charles, as Zephyr, attended by twelve little maidens, presented the Queen's gifts to the Prince of Wales. He wore a short robe of green satin, embroidered with gold flowers. There were attached to his shoulders two silver wings, and encircling his head was a fine lawn aureole, with a garland of flowers of all colours. His right arm was bare, on which the Queen had clasped a bracelet of diamonds. Charles danced in the midst of the attendant maidens. A trident was handed him, to present to the King, and the Queen's sword and scarf to the Prince of Wales.[1]

(1) Strickland, vol. vii., 333.

Prince Charles, having now attained as much strength as his royal parents could desire, and with it a very considerable share of beauty, was taken from his tender nurse, Lady Carey, and placed under the care of masters, selected by his brother the Prince of Wales. Sometimes the Prince would tease him, and even make him weep, by telling him that if, as he grew up, his legs were not handsome, he should make him take orders, and give him the Archbishopric of Canterbury ; because the robes of the Church would hide all those defects ! "However, in the fullness of time, when he began to look man in the face, those tender limbs began to knit and consolidate, and the most famed for manly beauty and martial exercises were forced to yield him the garland."[1]

On the 13th of May, 1611, at Windsor, Prince Charles was created a Knight of the Garter, in company with Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, and Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester.

On May Day, 1612, the two young Princes, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, "went a-maying" to Highgate, where they were entertained by Lord and Lady Arundel. A banquet was spread for the royal guests, which consisted of dried and candied fruits, accompanied by what was known as biscuit-bread.[2]

In the autumn of 1612, the remains of Mary, Queen of Scots were, by the orders of King James, transferred, with royal pomp, from Peterborough Cathedral, to the costly sepulchre which he had prepared in Westminster Abbey. Popular superstition was on the alert, and the curious tradition was repeated, that the grave was never disturbed of a deceased member

(1) Ibid, 334.
(2) "Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel," by M. F. S. Hervey, p. 64.

of a family without death's claiming one or more of that same family as a prey. And the foreboding seemed amply justified, when, after a lingering illness, died on November 5th, 1612, Henry, Prince of Wales. He had reached his eighteenth year. He had been regarded by those who were discontented with his father, as the hope of the kingdom, a second Henry V., and his untimely death was the cause of great sorrow to the people. By the death of the Prince of Wales, his younger brother, Charles, Duke of York and Albany, a boy of scarcely twelve years, became heir to the English Crown.

CHAPTER II.

PRINCE OF WALES.

1612—1625.

Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to Frederic, Elector Palatine—George Villiers—Nicknames—The Prince uncontaminated by the manners of the Court—Political principles—Letter of the Prince of Wales to Buckingham—State of religion—Eminent Churchmen—Hampton Court Conference—State of the Church of England—Men of letters—Investiture of Prince Charles as Prince of Wales—The Five Articles of Perth—Visit of the Prince to Oxford—Death of Queen Anne—The Prince defends Lord Bacon—The proposed Spanish marriage—Visit of the Prince and Buckingham to Madrid—The marriage contract—Broken off—Return of the Prince—The Princess Henrietta Maria of France—Offer of marriage—The treaty signed—Death of King James.

The mourning for Prince Henry was shortened, in order that the Princess Elizabeth might be solemnly affianced to Frederic, the Elector Palatine, on December 27th, 1612. On St. Valentine's Day, 1613, the marriage was performed with the utmost splendour. The King, the Queen, and the young Prince Charles were covered with jewels belonging to the Crown. The bride, a girl of great beauty, who was then "only in her sixteenth year, wore a white robe of silver tissue, with a coronet of gold on her head, and her long hair flowed in tresses on her shoulders, and reached as low as her knees. She was conducted by her bridemen, the young Prince her brother on one hand, and the aged Earl of Northampton on the other."[1]

(1) Lingard, ix., 104.

The marriage festivities were prolonged until Saturday, April 10th, when the Prince and Princess Palatine, with a large train, set out upon their long journey to Heidelberg. The King and Queen accompanied the bridal party as far as Rochester. Prince Charles remained somewhat longer with his sister. At last, on April 21st, the Palgrave and his bride, with their numerous retinue, embarked at Margate.[1]

Six years later, the bridegroom of this occasion, the Prince Palatine, accepted the Crown of Bohemia, and his wife, who bore her dignity with great stateliness, was known at the English Court as the Queen of Bohemia, and, as a popular term of endearment, the Queen of Hearts. She was the mother of the Princes Charles Lewis, Rupert and Maurice, and of the Princess Sophia, who married the Elector of Hanover, and became the mother of George I. of England.

Before tracing the career of Prince Charles as Prince of Wales, it will be well to speak again of the atmosphere in which he lived, and the personages with whom he came in contact. At the time of his brother's death, Charles was a boy not quite twelve years of age; but princes develop more rapidly than commoners, and the young Prince's place in the kingdom rendered him peculiarly open to the impressions of his time. Attention has been called to the extravagance of the gay, dissipated and undignified Court of King James. The chief weakness of the King was his fondness for favourites, chief of whom in 1612 was Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, afterwards Earl of Somerset, whose reign of power was brief and disastrous, ending in the scandal of the Essex divorce and the murder of Sir Thomas

(1) "Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel," pp. 70, 71.

Overbury in 1616. Carr was succeeded in the King's favour by the brilliant, witty and fascinating George Villiers, created eventually Duke of Buckingham, "who, if his life was vicious, was not vicious at heart; who sinned, and repented, and sinned again."[1] The well-known nicknames, "Baby Charles" and "Steenie," which King James bestowed respectively upon his son and Buckingham, characteristic of the King and of the manners of his Court, find their counterpart in the "Nicky" and "Willie" correspondence of our times. Villiers was called "Steenie" from his resemblance to the head of St. Stephen in an Italian painting at Whitehall. On St. George's Day, 1615, the Queen, together with Prince Charles, presented Villiers to the King for knighthood. Buckingham, though much older than the Prince, became his close friend; but, although in affairs of state he was an unwise counsellor, he appears never to have led the Prince into the errors of his own private life, but to have been to him always a devoted servant and friend. Indeed, it is a remarkable fact that Charles passed unscathed through the temptations of a licentious Court, and viewed its want of decorum and its vulgarity with marked disfavour.

In principles of government, the young Prince was trained from his earliest years in his father's notion of the Divine Right of Kings, and of the far-reaching powers of the royal prerogative. He saw as object lessons the dissolution of James' second parliament for refusing a supply to the King until it had dealt with the royal imposition of customs; the dissolution of the third parliament, in which the Commons made a protest against the violation of their liberties, which protest the King tore out from their journal with his own hands; the imprisonment of

(1) Hutton, "History of English Church," i., 4.

members of parliament for their opposition to the royal will ; the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh, nominally for a treason fourteen years before, in reality for his quarrels with the Spaniards. The Prince could not have been ignorant of his father's foreign policy, the attempt to play off Spain against France and the Empire, the device of public and secret treaties at the same time.

The following letter gives a curious illustration of the Prince's own attitude towards Parliament :—

The Prince of Wales to the Marquess of Buckingham.[1]

"STEENIE,—

"The Lower house this day has been a little unruly ; but I hope it will turn to the best ; for, before they rose, they began to be ashamed of it. Yet I could wish that the King would send down a Commission here, that (if need were) such seditious fellows might be made an example to others, by Monday next, and till then I would let them alone. It will be seen whether they mean to do good, or to persist in their follies ; so that the King needs to be patient but a little.

"I have spoken with so many of the council, as the King trusts most, and they are all of his mind, only the sending of authority to set seditious fellows fast is of my adding.

"I defy thee in being more mine than I am,

"Thy constant, loving friend,

"CHARLES P."

"Friday, 3rd November, 1621."

In the religious world, the upheaval of the sixteenth century had not yet subsided. Only eighty

(1) "Goodman's History of His Own Times," vol. ii., pp. 209, 210, quoted by Halliwell, ii., 157.

years had passed since Henry VIII. had thrown off the Pope's supremacy, had suppressed the monasteries, and had begun that quarrel with the See of Rome, which, though forgiven for a time during the reign of Queen Mary (1553—1558), had broken out with renewed bitterness upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and had been made permanent by the Bull of Excommunication of Pius V., in 1570. The wars of religion were in full career. The Thirty Years War began in 1618. The religious disputes of the Continent were felt acutely in England. The King's own daughter, the Electress Palatine, and her husband, were involved to such a degree that they were driven from their throne. Within the dominions of the British sovereign, Scotland was fanatically Presbyterian, the Romanists in Ireland were in chronic rebellion, in England itself the Church was assailed on the one hand by the emissaries of Rome, on the other by the more dangerous and growing power of the Puritans. Everywhere theological controversy was rife ; perhaps nowhere more so than in the Court of King James, who loved dearly to prove to his Bishops and Courtiers that he was indeed *Defensor Fidei*. The King himself would have been called a High Churchman, and he took good care that his family should follow in his steps. The Queen, though she may have conformed to the Church of England, was certainly not averse from the doctrines and the practice of Rome. The young Prince was brought up in a religious atmosphere, in which it is possible controversy nearly balanced piety.

But, nevertheless, piety and devotion there were in abundance in the Church of England of that day. It is enough to mention the names of Lancelot Andrewes, consecrated Bishop of Chichester and made Lord High Almoner in 1605, translated to

Ely in 1609, presently made Dean of the Chapels Royal, whose reputation for holiness and great learning was well borne out in his "Private Devotions" and in those massive sermons which he preached before the Court of King James; John Donne, the poet and most eloquent preacher of his time in England, who was appointed a Chaplain to King James in 1614, and who, in the dedication of his "Devotions," in 1624, to Charles, Prince of Wales, says, "In my second birth your Highness' royal father vouchsafed me his hand not only to sustain me in it, but to lead me to it"; George Herbert, the son of a devout mother, the Lady Magdalen Herbert, a friend and correspondent of John Donne, scholar and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Public Orator of his University; William Laud, made President of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1611, Archdeacon of Huntingdon in 1615, and Dean of Gloucester in 1616, who stood high in the favour of King James, and was destined to play a great part in the reign of his son; Izaak Walton, the friend of Donne, and biographer of the Worthies of his day, author of the "Compleat Angler"; Henry Wotton, scholar and diplomatist, another of the group of friends gathered around Donne, and in his later days the constant associate of Izaak Walton and John Hales. Of Nicholas Ferrar and his community at Little Gidding we shall hear later. The eloquent Dr. Richard Senhouse was the Prince's tutor and chaplain.

The Hampton Court Conference had been held in 1604, when Prince Charles was of too tender an age to have been affected by its discussions; but the principal, perhaps the only, achievement of that conference, the new version of the English Bible, which was dedicated to King James, and given to the world in 1611, made a profound impression upon the

Prince, and was with him until the very hour of his death. The Prayer Book, to which he was accustomed in the services of the Chapel Royal, was of the edition of 1559, with the additions agreed upon at Hampton Court in 1604, chief of which were the explanation of the Sacraments from the pen of Dean Overall, the title of the Absolution, enlarged by the addition of the words "or Remission of sins," the title "Confirmation" explained by the additional words "or laying on of hands upon children baptised and able to render an account of their faith," an additional Prayer for the Queen, the Prince, and other King's and Queen's children, with corresponding insertions in the Litany. The Cathedrals, Royal Chapels, College Chapels and Parish Churches remained much as they had been during all the religious troubles of the past sixty years ; the ancient carving and the painted glass, and many statues of the saints, survived. The most noticeable, as well as the most painful change, was that of the position, and the condition, of the Altar. In many places, the stone altars had been pulled down, and movable tables had been set up, which were placed not against the east wall of the sanctuary but in the midst of the chancel. But in the Royal Chapels, the old use remained of the Altar at the east end, decently covered with a carpet of silk or velvet, with Cross or Crucifix, and two candles which were lighted at the Eucharist. It was customary to make a lowly reverence in passing before the Altar. Surplices, albs and copes were in use ; in some places, as at Durham Cathedral, incense was offered. The tide had turned for reverence and beauty in the conduct of the services of the Church. It was not uncommon to find in parish Churches, as well as in Cathedrals and College Chapels, the Eucharist celebrated on all Sundays and Holy Days,

daily Morning and Evening Prayer, with the Litany on Wednesdays and Fridays. It is true that there was much diversity of teaching and practice, that wherever they could do so, the Puritans were omitting many parts of the prescribed services and were establishing lectureships for the dissemination of their own peculiar tenets. It is not to be wondered at that much of the preaching of the day was controversial, and, while in the twentieth century we may regret the consequences of the Acts of Uniformity, we can hardly be surprised that the rulers of Church and State in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries should have enjoined them as a means of putting an end to anarchy in religion, or at least of holding under restraint its troublesome disturbers.

The great age of Elizabeth was scarcely past, and its literature was in the hands of all educated people. Shakespeare himself and a few others of the great Elizabethans were still living during the youth of Prince Charles. Indeed, "The Tempest," which is beyond question among the latest of the poet's works, was acted by the King's Players "before Prince Charles, the Princess Elizabeth and the Prince Palatine," in the beginning of 1613. Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, George Chapman, translator of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey," Thomas Dekker, Thomas Middleton, John Webster, John Day, Cyril Tourneur, William Rowley were contemporary dramatists, while poets such as Michael Drayton, Samuel Daniel, Joshua Sylvester, Sir John Davies, Sir John Beaumont, Edward Fairfax, translator of "Tasso," Giles and Phineas Fletcher, George Wither, John Donne, carried on the glory of English verse into the new age. Of the prose writers of the period, Francis Bacon, who published his "Advancement of Learning" in 1605, stands pre-eminent. Other

writers were Robert Burton, who published his "Anatomy of Melancholy" in 1621; William Camden, author of "Britannia," the "Annals" of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., and many other learned works; Sir Robert Cotton, collector of antiquities and collaborator with Camden in literary work; Sir Henry Spelman, writer on Church history and ecclesiastical law; John Selden, the learned lawyer; Richard Hakluyt, the narrator of Elizabethan voyage and travel; Sir Henry Wotton, poet and letter-writer. Thus, it will be seen that the young Prince grew up in a bracing intellectual atmosphere, when the English language was at its best and strongest, when the Greek and Latin classics were the familiar reading of educated men. Brought up with an intelligent understanding of the theological position of the Church of England, her worship and her sacraments satisfied his religious disposition, and, in spite of bitter temptations to abandon her, he remained until death her faithful and devoted son.

Henry, Prince of Wales, died on November 6th, 1612. It was not until very nearly four years later that Prince Charles was invested with the rank and titles of his brother.

"Early in September 1616, a Committee composed of the Lord Treasurer (Earl of Suffolk), the Lord Chamberlain (Earl of Pembroke), the Duke of Lennox, and the Earl of Arundel, was appointed for creating Prince Charles, now sixteen years of age, Prince of Wales, and for nominating the Knights of the Bath, who were to be admitted to the Order on the same occasion. Later in the month a Commission was appointed, of the above-mentioned personages, with the addition of the Earls of Worcester and Nottingham, to jointly exercise the office of Earl Marshall. For the auspicious occasion of the Prince's creation,

however, the King desired Lord Arundel to fulfil the function of Earl Marshall alone. . . . All eyes and thoughts were now concentrated on the preparations for the great event. No less than twenty-six Knights of the Bath were to be invested. . . .[1]

" On the last day of October, Prince Charles came to Whitehall, by water, to be ready for the great function of Sunday, 3rd November. He was met and escorted from Chelsea downwards by the Mayor and Aldermen, in their gay and brilliant barges. To how many it must have recalled the similar rejoicings for Prince Henry, but a few years earlier ! "[2]

On Sunday, the 3rd November, the elaborate ceremony of the knighting the twenty-six new Knights of the Bath was accomplished.

" On the following day, Monday, 4th November, arrayed in ' long robes of purple satin, with hoods of the same, all lined and edged about with white taffeta,' they attended the Prince at his creation,"[3] as Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester, in the Palace at Whitehall, *per cincturam gladii, traditionem et positionem serti in capite, et annuli aurei in digito, nec non virgæ aureæ (sicut olim argenteæ) in manu.* The Prince came in a surcoat of purple velvet. The King performed the ceremony of creation, putting on the purple mantle, girding on the sword, investing with rod and ring, and setting the cap and coronet on his head. The Archbishop of Canterbury and others were present. Dr. Senhouse, as the Prince's Chaplain, said grace at the banquet which followed the ceremony of creation.

This was the year in which the Act was passed providing a Book of Common Prayer for Scotland.

(1) " Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel," p. 105.
(2) Ibid, p. 106.
(3) Ibid, p. 107.

A year later, when King James revisited his native kingdom, the Church service was restored in the Royal Chapel at Holyrood. Before the King left Scotland, he signified to the Scottish clergy the royal will, in the shape of the Five Articles of Perth, which stipulated for : Kneeling at Communion ; Clinical Baptism ; Communion of the Dying ; Episcopal Confirmation ; Observance of Yule, Pasch and Pentecost. If anything was to be retained of historic Christianity, could a stand have been made for less ?

In 1617, the Prince of Wales paid his first official visit to the University of Oxford, a visit which is to be remembered, if for no other reason, at least for this, that it was his introduction to that fair seat of learning, which remained loyal to him and to his cause until the end. The visit is chronicled thus by Izaak Walton in his " Life of Sanderson." : " In this year, 1617, the Prince of Wales came honourably attended to Oxford ; and having deliberately visited the University, the schools, colleges, and libraries, he and his attendants were entertained with ceremonies and feasting suitable to their dignity and merits."

On March 2nd, 1619, Queen Anne, Consort of King James, died at Hampton Court, leaving as the only surviving members of the royal family, besides the King himself, the Prince of Wales, and the King and Queen of Bohemia and their children. The Prince of Wales had come to visit his mother, and she welcomed him, and asked him " How he did ? " He answered " At her service," and a few trifling questions passed cheerfully. The Queen, who seems to have dreaded the presence of great crowds, which, in those days, ever surrounded the death-beds of royal persons, implored him to go home. " No,"

replied Charles, "I will stay to wait upon your Majesty." "I am a pretty piece to wait upon, servant," replied the dying Queen, calling her son by a pet name, derived from the code of chivalry, she ever used in their affectionate intercourse. The Prince retired to his chamber. After supper-time, he entered again the chamber of the Queen and spoke to her, but, at her earnest entreaty, retired soon. The Queen was left for the night with one confidential attendant. But between twelve and one o'clock, her lady was alarmed by the symptoms of the Queen, and she called the physicians, and sent for the Prince and the lords and ladies of the household. The Queen's hand was placed upon Prince Charles' head, and she distinctly gave him her blessing. The Bishop of London said a prayer, and her son and all those about her prayed. While the Bishop continued the prayers, the Queen passed very peacefully away. King James was absent from the deathbed of his wife, owing to his own very serious illness at Newmarket. "So grave was his case considered, that Prince Charles was sent for. He met the King, weak and ill, on the way from Newmarket to Royston. . . . The King felt so strongly the uncertainty of his condition, that he addressed Prince Charles before the assembled lords, commending to him especially the Duke of Lennox, Lord Pembroke, Lord Arundel, and one or two others ; but above all Buckingham and Hamilton. He further gave the Prince charge concerning religion, and urged upon him respect for the Bishops."[1]

Although King James recovered, he was not well enough to be present at the funeral of his consort, which was conducted with great pomp on May 13th. The Queen's "remains were conveyed to Henry VII.'s

(1) "Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel," p. 154.

Chapel at Westminster. The procession was of immense length. . . . In addition to the Queen's Household, no fewer than 27 barons, 8 bishops, 3 viscounts, 11 earls, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other great dignitaries, preceded the coffin, immediately before which walked the Prince of Wales. . . . On arriving at the Chapel, the proceedings opened by a ceremonious presentation of alms. 'The Chiefe Mourner (the Countess of Arundel and Surrey) offered first for the defunct' . . . The Prince was the next to offer, having done which, he received the various banners, and was escorted by Garter back to his 'pue.' . . . The remainder of the mourners were now brought up, each in turn, by the Heralds, after which the funeral rite was completed. . . . The Blessing [was] pronounced at the end by the Dean of Westminster."[1]

In 1620, when the King and Queen of Bohemia were driven from Prague, the Prince of Wales supported the cause of his sister, and urged, as against his father's temporizing policy with Spain, active intervention on her behalf.

In March 1621, Francis Bacon, the Lord Chancellor of England, was accused of corruption in receiving gifts from suitors before the settlement of their suits, though the gifts "appear never to have influenced his decisions. Three Committees were formed to investigate the matter. . . . In April, when the Lords were ready to receive the reports of the Committees, the Prince of Wales rose and said the Chancellor had sent him his submission. Both Charles and Buckingham evidently wished the submission might be accepted, 'sparing a formal sentence.' But the House was not satisfied, and the question arose whether Bacon should be summoned

(1) Ibid, pp. 155, 156.

in person to answer for himself, or whether he might be saved that humiliation, and permitted to reply in writing. The Prince of Wales, Buckingham, Arundel, Pembroke, Southampton, Lennox, the Bishop of Durham, were all in favour of the latter, more lenient course. . . . The milder opinion prevailed. The charge was sent to the accused, who was given till April 30th to frame his answer. On that day a complete confession and submission was addressed by the Lord Chancellor to the Lord Chief Justice, to be read to the Lords."[1] From this time Bacon disappeared from public life, to devote his leisure to the composition of those works, which have done so much to redeem his fame. In 1620, he had published his greatest work, *Novum Organum*. In March 1622, he presented to the Prince of Wales his "History of Henry VII." And immediately, with unwearied industry, he set himself to complete some portions of his great work. In November 1622, appeared the *Historia Ventorum;* in January 1623, the *Historia Vitæ et Mortis;* and in October of the same year, the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, a Latin translation of the "Advancement." Finally, in December 1624, he published his "Apophthegms," and "Translations of some of the Psalms," dedicated to George Herbert; and in 1625, a third and enlarged edition of the "Essays."

A second time in the year 1621, the Prince of Wales appears as a mediator. The Earl of Arundel and the Lord Spencer had a violent altercation in the House of Lords, and Lord Arundel was called upon to apologize. While willing to do so to the House, he declined an apology to Lord Spencer. Consequently, Lord Arundel was lodged in the Tower. The King himself now intervened, and went to the

(1) "Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel," pp. 188, 189.

House of Lords to intercede for Lord Arundel. But that nobleman remaining obdurate in his refusal to apologize to Lord Spencer, the Lords were equally firm in declining to readmit him to their House until he had done so. Finally, the King proposed that Arundel should be released conditionally upon his making submission to the Lords ; while the Prince was to act as arbitrator between him and Lord Spencer. This was accepted. And on June 2nd, curiously enough, Arundel was released from the Tower at the same time as Lord Bacon.[1]

It had been a cherished scheme of King James to form an alliance between England and Spain, and to cement it by the marriage of Henry, Prince of Wales, with one of the Spanish Infantas. But this plan, which had encountered much opposition in England, was frustrated by the unexpected death of the Prince. However, in 1617, negotiations were resumed with the Spanish Court with a view to the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta Maria Althæa, daughter of Philip III. Broken off in 1618, on the score of King James' failure to guarantee religious liberty to Roman Catholics in England, the negotiations were reopened in 1620, with the further purpose of securing the help of Spain for the Elector Palatine as against the Emperor of Germany. But the third Parliament of the reign, which met in 1621, petitioned the King that war might be directed against Spain, as the moving cause of all strife, and that the Prince of Wales might be married to a Protestant Princess. The King's reply was to tell the Commons not to meddle with the mysteries of State, to tear the petition out of the journal, and presently to dissolve the Parliament. Meanwhile, Philip III. of Spain had died, and had been succeeded

(1) Ibid, p. 191.

by his son, Philip IV. The accession of the new King revived the hopes of King James for the Spanish match.[1] In March 1622, both James and Charles wrote to Philip and his chief minister Olivarez. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador to England, returned to Spain to press the alliance, and he was followed by Digby, Earl of Bristol, as English ambassador extraordinary. "A favourable answer was returned to King James, stating the earnest desire of Philip to conclude the marriage of his sister, and his willingness to interpose his good offices in behalf of King James' son-in-law, the Elector Palatine. As a preparatory step, a dispensation for the marriage of the Infanta was solicited from the Pope. But the Pope replied that he could not grant a dispensation, unless it were for the benefit of the Church; that though the King of England had promised much to the late King of Spain, he had yet performed nothing. Let him, as he had offered, relieve the Catholics from the pressure of the penal laws, and then a sufficient ground would be laid for a dispensation." It is not necessary to follow through all its tortuous windings, the course of the negotiations, which occupied the greater part of the year 1623—King James' indulgence to the Roman Catholics, the opposition of the Protestant zealots, the fears of the Romanists themselves, and, on the Continent, the further misfortunes of the Elector Palatine. Suffice it to say that, notwithstanding these obstacles, "the treaty of marriage proceeded rapidly towards its conclusion."[2] On January 5th, 1623, the religious articles were subscribed by James and his son, "who promised, moreover, on the word of a King and a Prince, that the English Romanists should no longer

(1) Lingard, ix., 199, 200.
(2) Ibid, ix., 201.

suffer persecution or restraint, provided they confined to private houses the exercise of their worship." It was agreed that the Princess should depart for England in a few weeks' time. And Lord Bristol and his colleague Aston, the resident ambassador in Madrid, were congratulating themselves, as they had good reason to do, upon the successful issue of their long and difficult negotiation.

"It was at this moment, March 7, 1623, that two strangers, calling themselves John and Thomas Smith, arrived in the dusk of the evening at the house of the Earl of Bristol, in Madrid. They were the Prince of Wales and the Marquess of Buckingham, who had left England on February 17, without the knowledge of any other person than the King, and had travelled in disguise, with three attendants," Sir Francis Cottington, Endymion Porter and Sir Richard Graham, through Paris and western France to the capital of Spain. "The project of this extraordinary journey had originated with Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, during the previous summer. To the youthful mind of Charles it presented a romantic and welcome adventure, far superior in point of gallantry to the celebrated voyage of his father in quest of Anne of Denmark."[1]

These letters of the Prince and Buckingham to King James give some details of their journey :—

[2] "Paris, Saturday, February 22, 1623.

"First, about five or six o'clock on Wednesday morning, we wish to say, the first that fell sick was your son, and he that continued it longest was myself. In six hours we got over with as fair a passage as ever men had. We all got so perfectly well, when we saw land, that we resolved to spend

(1) Ibid, ix., 202.
(2) Halliwell, ii., 163, 164.

the rest of the day in riding post ; and lay at Montreuil, three post off Boulogne. The next day we lay at Breteur, eleven post further, and the next to Paris, being Friday. This day, being Saturday, we rest at Paris, though no great need of it ; yet I had four falls by the way, without any harm. Your son's horses stumble as fast as any man's ; but he is so much stronger before than he was. He holds them up by main strength of mastery, and cries still on ! on ! ! on ! ! ! This day we went, he and I alone, to a periwig-maker, where we disguised ourselves so artificially, that we adventured to see the king. The means how we did compass it was this : We addressed ourselves to the king's governor, Monsieur du Proes, and he courteously carried us where we saw him our fill. Then we desired Monsieur du Proes to make us acquainted with his son, because we would trouble the old man no longer, which he did ; and then we saw the queen-mother at dinner. This evening his son hath promised us to see the young queen, with her sister and little monsieur. I am sure now you fear we shall be discovered ; but do not fright yourself, for I warrant you the contrary. And finding this might be done, with safety, we had a great tickling to add to it the history of our adventures.

" To-morrow, which will be Sunday, we will be (God willing) up so early, that we make no question but to reach Orleans ; and so every day after we mean to be gaining something, till we reach Madrid."

[1] " Sir,—

" Since closing our last, we have been at court again (and that we might not hold you in pain,

(1) Ibid, 165, 166.

we assure you we have not been known), where we saw the young queen, little monsieur, and madame, at the practising of a masque that is intended by the queen to be presented to the king : and in it there danced the queen and madame, with as many as made up nineteen fair dancing ladies, amongst which the queen is the handsomest, which hath wrought in me a great desire to see her sister. So, in haste, going to bed, we humbly take our leaves, and rest,

" Your majesty's most humble and
obedient son and servant,
" CHARLES."

" And your humble slave and dog,
" STEENIE."

An anecdote given by Sir Henry Wotton, on the journey to Spain, offers a characteristic trait of Charles and Buckingham :—[1]

" They were now entered into the deep time of Lent, and could get no flesh at their inns ; whereupon fell out a pleasant passage (if I may insert it by the way among more serious) : There was near Bayonne a herd of goats with their young ones ; on which sight Sir Richard Graham (master of the horse to the marquess) tells the marquess he could snap one of the kids, and make some shift to carry him close to their lodgings ; which the prince overhearing, ' Why, Richard,' says he, ' do you think you may practice here your old tricks upon the borders ? ' Upon which word they first gave the goatherd good contentment, and then while the marquess and his servants, being both on foot, were chasing the kid about the flock, the prince from horseback killed him in the head with a Scottish pistol. Let this serve

(1) Disraeli, " Curiosities of Literature," ii., 159.

for a journal parenthesis, which yet may show how his highness, even in such light and sportful damage, had a noble sense of just dealing."

"Bristol received his distinguished guests with the respect due to their rank, but without any expression of surprise. From the conversation of Gondomar, he had inferred that such a journey was contemplated ; and to prevent it he had despatched a messenger, who passed the travellers near Bayonne. Indeed, the Prince had stopped Bristol's courier, and had opened his despatches, but being unable to decipher them, had suffered him to proceed on his way to England. Although Bristol assumed an air of satisfaction at the arrival of the travellers, he felt the keenest disappointment. He foresaw that, if the personal bearing of Buckingham did not interrupt the treaty, at least the ambition of the favourite would reap the glory."[1]

"The King of Spain, his nobility, and the population of Madrid seemed at a loss to testify their joy at this unexpected event. The Prince was received with every complimentary honour which Spanish ingenuity could devise. The prisons were thrown open ; the disposal of favours was placed in his hands ; he was made to take precedence of the King himself ; and two gold keys gave him admission at all hours, into the royal apartments. His visit was considered not only as a proof of his reliance on Spanish honour, an earnest of his attachment to the Spanish princess, but also as a prelude to his conversion to the Roman obedience."[2] With regard to this last, it is possible that the Spaniards built too much hope upon a question which occurred in the first letter of the Prince and Buckingham to King

(1) Lingard, "History of England," ix., 203.
(2) Ibid, ix., 203.

James, March 10th, 1623, announcing their arrival in Madrid. They requested the King to state how far he could be induced to acknowledge the authority of the Pope.[1] "If the Pope will not grant the dispensation, then we would gladly have your directions how far we may engage you in the acknowledgment of the Pope's special power; for we almost find, if you will be contented to acknowledge the Pope chief head under Christ, the match will be made without him." On March 25th, James replied that "he knows not what they mean by acknowledging the Pope's spiritual supremacy. He is sure they would not have him renounce his religion for all the world. Perhaps they allude to a passage in his book, where he says, that if the Pope would quit his Godhead, and usurping over kings, he would acknowledge him for Chief Bishop, to whom all appeals of Churchmen ought to lie *en dernier ressort*. That is the furthest his conscience will permit him to go." The Prince of Wales himself did not hesitate, in reply to a letter from the Pope, to promise that he would abstain from every act of hostility to the Roman Catholic religion, and would seek every opportunity of accomplishing a re-union between the two Churches.[2]

"In England, the sudden disappearance of the Prince had excited surprise and alarm; the news of his arrival in Spain, though, celebrated at the royal command, with bonfires and the ringing of bells, was received with strong expressions of disapprobation." Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, addressed to the King a letter of protest against the Spanish match on the ground of religion, and against the Prince's journey because it was undertaken

(1) Halliwell, ii., 176.
(2) Lingard, ix., 204. *Vide* Appendix, Note (A).

without the consent of the Council or the knowledge of the people. But the King pursued his policy, sending to the Prince, Lord Carey, the Prince's Chamberlain with a retinue of officers and his chaplains, Drs. Mainwaring and Wren, with provision for the suitable rendering of the services of the Church of England at the Prince's Court in Madrid, and also jewels for the more splendid appearance of the Prince himself at the Spanish Court. At the same time, King James raised Buckingham to a dukedom in order that he might equal in rank the proudest grandee of Spain.

On April 12th, the Papal dispensation for the marriage had been granted, but it was accompanied by such conditions that its value was rendered almost nugatory. The result was a public and private treaty.[1] The first stipulated that the marriage should be celebrated in Spain, and afterwards ratified in England ; that the children should remain till the age of ten years under the care of their mother ; that the Infanta and her servants should possess a Church and Chapel for the free exercise of their religion ; and that her chaplains should be Spaniards, living under canonical obedience to their bishop. The private treaty contained four articles : that none of the penal laws for religion should be executed ; that the Roman worship in private houses should be tolerated ; that no attempt should be made to seduce the Princess from the faith of her fathers ; and that the King should exert all his influence to obtain the repeal of the penal statutes in Parliament. Both King James and the Lords of the Council swore to the observance of the public treaty in the Royal Chapel at Westminster on July 20th, 1623 ; and the King alone took an oath to the observance of

(1) Ibid, ix., 207.

the secret treaty, in the house of the Spanish ambassador, and in the presence of four witnesses. But though the treaty had proceeded so far, yet one obstacle after another was thrown in the way of its conclusion. Any meeting between the Prince and the Infanta except in public was guarded against with the utmost precaution. On the first occasion of their meeting, "the Infanta wore a blue riband about her arm, that the prince might distinguish her, and as soon as she saw the prince her colour rose very high."[1] "Two days after this interview the Prince was invited to run at the ring, where his fair mistress was a spectator, and to the glory of his fortune, and the great contentment both of himself and the lookers on, he took the ring the very first course."[2]

Once the Prince caught a passing glimpse of the lady as she drove by in her coach in the Prado. Once, carried away with romantic impulse, he leaped the wall of her garden and discovered himself unexpectedly to the Princess, but she fled incontinently from him, and the lover was left disconsolate. Buckingham's description of the Infanta is contained in a letter to King James soon after the Prince's arrival in Madrid :—

"The chiefest advertisement of all we omitted in our other letter, which was to let you know how we like your daughter, his wife, and my mistress : without flattery, I think there is not a sweeter creature in the world. Baby Charles is himself so touched at the heart, that he confesses all he ever yet saw is nothing to her, and swears that, if he want her, there shall be blows."[3]

As no use of the papal dispensation had been

(1) and (2) Disraeli, ii., 155.
(3) Halliwell, ii., 177. Note.

made before the death of Gregory XV., it was held necessary to procure another from his successor. The King of Spain proposed that the marriage should be consummated in Spain, but that both the Princess and her dower should remain there until the following spring, as a security that the promised indulgences should be actually granted to Roman Catholics in England. By this time the patience of the Prince of Wales was exhausted. He was indignant at the delays, and at the conditions imposed by the Spaniards upon his marriage—the more so, when he learnt that there was little chance that the King of Spain would interfere by force to restore the King of Bohemia to his throne.[1] Indeed, the Prince had been told on one occasion by the young Queen of Spain (Elizabeth of France) that she wished he would marry her sister Henrietta ; which indeed he would be able to do, because the engagement with the Infanta would certainly be broken off.[2] And Buckingham, for both public and private reasons, advised returning to England. Accordingly, the Prince requested of his father a royal order for his immediate recall. This rendered necessary a new arrangement with regard to the marriage. In August, it was stipulated that the espousals should take place before Christmas, and that the Prince should be represented at the ceremony by King Philip or his brother, Don Carlos. The Infanta assumed, therefore, the title and style of Princess of England. Philip and Charles parted as brothers; Olivarez and Buckingham, as enemies ; and the Prince and his train left Madrid on September 9th, 1623.

The return of the Prince to England was welcomed by the entire kingdom with demonstrations of great

(1) Lingard, ix., 209
(2) Strickland, viii., 13.

joy. The English fleet was sent out to meet him, and he embarked in it on September 12th. A storm drove the fleet to the Scilly Islands ; but on October 5th the Prince landed at Portsmouth, and was given a royal reception upon his entrance into London the next day. He was eager for war with Spain. "Never before or after was Charles so popular as when he landed in Portsmouth, not so much because he had come back, as because he had not brought the Infanta with him."[1] "The greatest expression of joy of all sorts of people that ever I saw," says Bishop Laud.

The end of the Spanish match is soon told. On November 12th, the second papal dispensation arrived in Madrid. "November 18, Tuesday night, the Duke of Buckingham entertained the two Spanish ambassadors ; Don Diego de Mendoza, the extraordinary, and Don Carlos Columnas, the ordinary ; and Mexia (I think his name was), Ambassador from the Archdukes. One of the Extraordinary Ambassadors of Spain, Marquess Iniioca, came not, because Mendoza and he could not agree upon precedency. His Majesty and the Prince were there. The Bishop of London (George Montaigne) and myself waited upon the King."[2] The King of Spain had appointed November 29th for the espousals, December 9th for the marriage. All the preparations had been made for the ceremonies, when, on November 26th, three English couriers, pressing on the heels of each other, reached Madrid. From them Lord Bristol received a prohibition to deliver the proxy for the Prince, and instructions to inform the King of Spain that King James was willing to proceed with the marriage, whenever King Philip

(1) S. R. Gardiner, "Student's History of England," ii., 500.
(2) Bishop Laud's Diary.

would pledge himself under his own hand to take up arms for the defence of the Elector Palatine. The King of Spain was offended ; the preparations for the marriage were countermanded ; the marriage treaty itself was at an end. It is true that the Spanish Council had given ample grounds for offence to the Prince of Wales by their many vexatious delays, and their attempts to take advantage of his presence in Madrid. The breaking off the Spanish match was probably fortunate both for him and for England.[1] "It appears that James had in view the restoration of the Palatinate to his daughter, whom he could not effectually assist ; that the Court of Rome had speculations of the most dangerous tendency to the protestant religion ; that the marriage was broken off by that personal hatred which existed between Olivarez and Buckingham ; and that if there was any sincerity existing between the parties concerned, it rested with the Prince and the Infanta, who were both youthful and romantic, and were but two beautiful ivory balls in the hands of great players."[2]

In this connection, it will be not out of place to quote an incident recorded in the diary of Bishop Laud. "1623—24, February 1, Sunday. I stood by the most illustrious Prince Charles at dinner. He was then very merry, and talked occasionally on many things with his attendants. Among other things, he said that, if he were necessitated to take any particular profession of life, he could not be a lawyer, adding his reasons. 'I cannot,' saith he, 'defend a bad, nor yield in a good cause.' May you ever hold this resolution and succeed (Most Serene Prince) in matters of greater moment, for ever prosperous."

(1) Lingard, ix., 211, 213.
(2) Disraeli, ii., 157.

Mention has been made in the letters of the Prince and Buckingham from Paris to King James, in the spring of 1623, of their admission as strangers to the French Court, where at a masque in the Palace of the Louvre they saw for the first time the Princess Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter of Henry IV. of France, and his second wife, Mary de' Medici, and sister of the reigning King, Louis XIII. The Princess, who had been born in 1609, was then in her fourteenth year, dark of complexion, and short of stature, but distinguished by the beauty of her features and the elegance of her form. This is the description of one who saw her at dinner at Whitehall, after her marriage. He thought her " a most absolute delicate creature. Besides, her deportment among her women was so sweet and humble, and her speech and looks to her other servants so mild and gracious, as I could not abstain from divers deep-fetched sighs, to consider that she wanted the knowledge of the true religion."[1] At the time of the Prince's visit in Paris, the Princess Henrietta seems to have made no impression upon his heart, but afterwards, in proportion as his affections were estranged from the Infanta, his thoughts reverted to the French Princess ; and, after his return to England in the autumn of 1623, the Lord Kensington was despatched at his request, to the Court of France. He appeared there without any official character, but the object of his visit was understood, and he received from the Queen Mother assurance of a favourable result.[2] For indeed the English Prince was well known to be the most elegant and accomplished Prince in Europe. And it is said that, at the time of the Prince's visit to Spain, the Princess Henrietta Maria

(1) Sir Simon D'Ewes, quoted by Lingard, ix., 228. Note.
(2) Lingard, ix., 229.

had remarked, "The Prince of Wales need not have gone so far as Madrid to look for a wife." [1]

As soon, then, as King James had dissolved the treaty with Spain, March 24th, 1624, the Earl of Carlisle joined Kensington in Paris, both took the title of Ambassadors, and the proposal of marriage was made with due formality. The House of Commons took alarm at the plan for a French marriage, and in April, 1624, exacted from the King the promise, that, in the event of such a marriage, no pledges of toleration to Roman Catholics should be given. On this occasion the Prince of Wales also professed, and bound himself with an oath, "that whensoever it should please God to bestow upon him any lady that were popish, she should have no further liberty but for her own family, and no advantage to the recusants at home." The commissioners, appointed by both kingdoms to draw up the marriage contract, agreed that the marriage should be solemnised in France after the same manner in which Henry of Navarre (at the time a Huguenot) had been married to Marguerite de Valois ; that, on the arrival of the Princess in England, the contract should be ratified publicly without any religious ceremony ; that the Princess and her attendants should be allowed the free exercise of their religion ; that the children of the marriage should remain under their mother's care till they were thirteen years old ; that every indulgence, promised to English Romanists by the treaty of Madrid, should be secured by the treaty of Paris. The last stipulation, since it would practically abrogate the penal laws against recusants, since it went clean against the popular sentiment of Protestantism in England, and since it contradicted directly the oath so lately taken by the Prince and

(1) Strickland, viii., 12.

the promise given by King James, seemed to present an insuperable obstacle. But, again, it was surmounted by the compromise of a secret engagement, signed by the King of England, the Prince of Wales and a Secretary of State, which promised to Roman Catholics greater freedom than ever before. Attention should be drawn, thus early in the story, to that which was a common practice in the diplomacy of the seventeenth century—the public treaties of sovereigns and nations, nullified, or at least limited in certain important particulars, by a secret agreement between the high contracting parties. To our modern notions, such subterfuges seem in the last degree deplorable. But the chancelleries of Europe and possibly of America, know well that the practice of secret diplomacy has not yet been abandoned in the twentieth century. In November, 1624, the treaty was signed by both the Kings of England and France. The spacious, low-ceiled combination-room of St. John's College, Cambridge, looking out upon the venerable courts of the clustered colleges, with the Cam flowing silently beneath their walls, was the scene of the discussions and of the signing, on the part of England, of this memorable treaty.

King James was taken with his last illness on Friday, March 4th, 1625, at his favourite palace of Theobalds. He made a pious end, spending all his last days in prayer and the preparation for death. "Bishop Andrewes, whose attendance the King earnestly called for, was unable to be present, by reason of his own illness." John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, took his place and ministered to the King, hearing his confession and giving him absolution. "Being told," says Bishop Williams in his funeral sermon, "that men in Holy Orders in the Church of England claim a power as inherent in

their function and not in their person, to pronounce and declare remission of sins to such as being penitent do call for the same, he answered suddenly, 'I have ever believed there was that power in you that be in orders in the Church of England, and therefore I, a miserable sinner, do humbly desire Almighty God to absolve me of my sins, and you that are His servant in that high place, to afford me this heavenly comfort.' And after the absolution read and pronounced, he received the Sacrament with that zeal and devotion, as if he had not been a frail man, but a cherubim clothed with flesh and blood." His serenity of mind and fervour of devotion drew tears from the eyes of the beholders, among whom were his son and the Duke of Buckingham, who watched by him assiduously. Early on March 27th, the dying King sent for Charles ; but before the Prince could reach the chamber, the King had lost the faculty of speech, and in the course of a few hours he expired.

"1625, March 27, Mid-Lent Sunday, I preached at Whitehall. I ascended the pulpit much troubled, and in a very melancholy moment, the report then spreading that his Majesty King James, of most sacred memory to me, was dead. Being interrupted with the dolours of the Duke of Buckingham, I broke off my sermon in the middle.

"The King died at Theobalds, about three-quarters of an hour past eleven in the forenoon. He breathed forth his blessed soul most religiously, and with great constancy of faith and courage.

"That day, about five o'clock, Prince Charles was solemnly proclaimed King. God grant to him a prosperous and happy reign."[1]

(1) Laud's Diary.

CHAPTER III.

ACCESSION, MARRIAGE AND CORONATION.

1625—1626.

Accession of King Charles I.—His Character—Portrait—Marriage with Henrietta Maria of France—Funeral of King James—Arrival of the Queen—Meeting of the King and Queen at Dover—Journey to London—The Plague—Preparations for the Coronation—Refusal of the Queen to be crowned—Laud, Bishop of St. David's, appointed deputy for the Dean of Westminster—Inspection of the regalia—Procession from the Tower abandoned—Eve of the Coronation—Consecration of the oil—Disposition of the regalia—Procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey—Entrance—Recognition—First Oblation—Sermon—The Oath—*Veni Creator*—The Litany—The Anointing—Investiture—The Crown—Benediction and *Te Deum*—Enthronisation—Pardon and Homage—The Eucharist—The Second Oblation—The Communion—Return from the Church.

King James was succeeded by the Prince of Wales, who, on the day of his father's death, was proclaimed by the Heralds and Pursuivants as King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, with the title of Charles I.

Lord Clarendon records that the accession of the new King was hailed "with as universal a joy in the people as can be imagined, and in a conjuncture, when all other parts of Christendom, being engaged in war, were very solicitous for his friendship; and the more, because he had already discovered an activity, that was not likely to suffer him to sit still."[1] In the new King, Englishmen saw a man who differed

(1) Clarendon, "History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars," i., 39.

in notable particulars from his father. He was devout, temperate, chaste, serious—they are the very words of a Puritan lady—but reserved.[1]

"Charles was a prince of grave and pure conduct, of acknowledged piety, learned, frugal, little inclined to prodigality, reserved without moroseness, dignified without arrogance. He maintained decorum and order in his household; everything about him announced a noble, upright, character, the friend of justice; his manners and deportment awed his courtiers and pleased the people; his virtues had gained him the esteem of all good men. Weary of the mean ways, the talkative and familiar pedantry, the inert and pusillanimous policy of James, England promised herself happiness and liberty under a king whom she could respect."[2] At one of the earliest sessions of the first Parliament of King Charles, "a worthy man, who had been reckoned in the last reign among the opponents of the Court, Sir Benjamin Rudyard rose, and moved that henceforth nothing should be neglected to maintain a perfect harmony between the King and the people: 'For,' said he, 'what may we expect from him, being king, his good natural disposition, his freedom from vice, his travels abroad, his being bred in parliament, promise greatly.'" "I will tell one particular," says Bishop Burnet,[3] "which I had from the Earl of Lothian, who was bred up in the court, and whose father, the Earl of Ancram, was gentleman of the bedchamber, though himself was ever much hated by the king. He told me that King Charles was much offended with King James' light and familiar way, which was the effect of

(1) Hutton, 3.
(2) Guizot, "History of the English Revolution," i., 2.
(3) Burnet's "History of His Own Times," 10.

hunting and drinking, on which occasions he was very apt to forget his dignity, and to break out into great indecencies ; on the other hand, the solemn gravity of the Court of Spain was more suited to his [King Charles'] own temper, which was sullen even to moroseness. This led him to a grave, reserved deportment, in which he forgot the civilities and the affability that the nation naturally loved, to which they had been long accustomed ; nor did he in his outward deportment take any pains to oblige any persons whatsoever ; so far from that, he had such an ungracious way of showing favour, that the manner of bestowing it was almost as mortifying as the favour was obliging." Said a clerical critic, " Our sovereign had not the art to please."[1] King Charles is said to have been affected with a slight impediment in his speech. Certainly, all accounts agree that he was reserved and reticent. The Duke of Buckingham was his only intimate friend. The King's private life was without blemish. He was insensible to flattery. He suppressed disorder in his Court. He allowed no one to approach him by the backstairs. He was sober in food and dress. And he was deeply religious.

And yet Charles had been bred in the school of his father, and had imbibed his father's ideas of the absolute power of the Crown, and of the crooked policy in public dealings, which had been dignified by the name of Kingcraft ; which ideas were shared, be it observed, by all the sovereigns of his time. But King Charles was wanting in that experience of the danger of popular opposition, which King James' stormy youth in Scotland had given him, and in that pliancy in yielding to the people's will, which even in the absolutism of the Tudor monarchy,

(1) Quoted by Hutton, 3.

had been a part of the wisdom and the success of the great Elizabeth. Charles could not rightly read the times. He failed to understand the temper of his people. He was possessed of an obstinacy, which prevented him from making those prudent concessions, which the spirit of the times rendered necessary. Sir Ferdinand Fairfax gives the popular view of this defect, when he says, "The King is in his own nature very stiff."[1] Indeed, courtiers who saw him in his youth, would often pray God "that he might be in the right way when he was set; for if he was in the wrong, he would prove the most wilful of any king that ever reigned."

At the time of his accession, Charles was in his twenty-fifth year, tall, well-made, and of noble bearing. A portrait of the Prince, as a young man, by Daniel Mytens, said to have been in the King's own collection, belonged in 1830 to Mr. Sharpe of Brockley Hall, Middlesex, and then passed into the hands of Henry Labouchere, Lord Taunton, at Stoke Park, Stoke Poges, Bucks. Later it was removed to a large house, Quantock Lodge, near Over Stowey, Somerset. Lately, it has found its way to Sotheby's auction rooms in London. The picture must have been painted about the time of the Prince's visit to Spain. The face is much more youthful than that painted by Van Dyck, and less pleasing—and yet the main lines of the later portraits are there—the regular features, the high forehead, the long face, the arched eyebrows. There is a thin moustache upon the upper lip, but no beard upon the chin. The figure is slender, and the position dignified and restrained.

The first question which claimed the attention of the new monarch was his marriage with the Princess Henrietta Maria of France; and on March 30th,

(1) J. F. Bright, "History of England," ii., 609.

1625, three days after his father's death, he ratified as King the treaty to which he had subscribed already as Prince. On the second Sunday after Easter, the first of May, the marriage of the King and the Princess was solemnised by the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, after the manner of the marriage of the King's grandmother, Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Dauphin Francis, on a platform erected before the great door of Nôtre-Dame in Paris. King Charles was represented by his proxy, Claude de Lorraine, Duc de Chevreuse, who was also his kinsman through the House of Guise. After a succession of festivities lasting for seven days, the young Queen of England left Paris for her husband's kingdom, conducted by the Dukes of Chevreuse and Buckingham, with their duchesses, and a brilliant retinue, and attended by the two Queens, Mary de' Medici, her mother, and Anne of Austria, the wife of her brother, Louis XIII. From Amiens, the Queen Mother, whose health did not permit her to accompany her daughter, as she had intended, to England, wrote to King Charles, "I esteem my daughter happy, since she will be the bond and cement for the union of these two crowns, and I esteem her doubly happy, not only because she espouses a great king, but a person like yourself. I recommend her to you as the creature in the world who is so dear to me, and I pray God with all my heart that He will bless you both."

Meanwhile, in the interval between the marriage ceremony and the arrival of the Queen in England, King Charles had attended, in the character of principal or chief mourner, on Saturday, May 7th, the solemn funeral of his father in Westminster Abbey—an act of filial piety, which was without precedent on the part of the reigning Prince. The

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Lying-in-state took place in Denmark House. "An effigy of the King was placed outside the pall over the remains. The funeral, at Westminster Abbey, was the largest ever seen in England, up to that time. The number of persons who attended is variously given as eight or nine thousand; the procession from Denmark House to Westminster lasting from ten in the morning to four in the afternoon. . . . Prince Charles, the chief mourner, followed on foot. . . . He was supported by the Earls of Arundel and Rutland, his train being borne by 'the Duke of Lennox, Marquess Hamilton, Earl of Denbigh, Lords Matrevors and Strange.' . . . In the Abbey, the coffin, still surmounted by the deceased King's effigy, rested beneath an elaborate architectural structure, domed, pillared and beflagged, having symbolic figures on pedestals at either corner. This erection, known in the term of the time as 'the herse,' was designed by Inigo Jones, and was reputed the fairest and best fashioned that had been seen."[1] John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord Keeper, preached the funeral oration on "Great Britain's Solomon," 2 Chron. ix. 29, 30. "He concluded all with that verse, 'Though his father die, yet he is as though he were not dead, for he hath left one behind him that is like himself,' Ecclus. xxx. 4; in application to his present majesty. Some auditors who came thither rather to observe than to edify, cavil than observe, found or made faults in the sermon, censuring him for touching too often and staying too long on a harsh string, three times straining the same, making eloquence too essential and so absolutely necessary in a King, 'that the want thereof made Moses in a manner refuse all government, though offered by God';

(1) "Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel," p. 233.

' that no man ever got great power without eloquence ; Nero being the first of Cæsars *qui alienæ facundiæ eguit*, who usurped another man's language to speak for him.' Expressions which might be forborne in the presence of his son and successor, whose impediment was known to be great, and mistaken to be greater. Some conceived him too long in praising the past, too short in promising for the present, King, though saying much of him in little."[1]

"1625, May 31, Tuesday, King Charles set forward toward Canterbury to the Queen."[2]

A discharge of ordnance at Boulogne announced the embarkation of the Queen. The King had waited at Dover to receive her ; but, when her arrival was delayed by rough weather in the channel, he retired to Canterbury, to allow her Majesty to recover from the effects of the voyage, before their meeting.

"June 12, Sunday, it was Trinity Sunday, Queen Mary crossing the seas, landed upon our shore about seven o'clock in the evening. God grant that she may be an evening and an happy star to our orb."[2]

"At what time a piece of ordnance, being discharged from the castle, flew in fitters, yet did nobody any harm. More were fearful at the presage than thankful for the providence."[3]

A gentleman named Tyrwhit rode that same evening from Dover to Canterbury in thirty-six minutes to announce the arrival of the Queen. The King came to Dover Castle the next morning at ten o'clock. The Queen was at breakfast. She

(1) Fuller's "Church History of Britain," iii., 335.
(2) Laud's Diary.
(3) Fuller's "Church History of Britain," iii., 337.

hurried downstairs to meet her husband, and would have knelt and kissed his hand, "but he wrapt her up in his arms with many kisses." She began, "*Sire, ie suis venue en ce pays de vôtre majesté pour être commandée de vous*," but finished with a gush of tears. The King said to her, "that she was not fallen into the hands of enemies and strangers, as she tremblingly apprehended, but according to the wise disposal of God, Whose will it was she should leave her kindred, and cleave to her spouse; that he would be no longer master of himself, than while he was a servant to her."[1]

The King perceiving that his wife reached to his shoulder, which was higher than he had been led to expect, glanced at her shoes. With her natural quickness of perception she read his thoughts, and, showing him the shoes she wore, she said to him in French: "Sire, I stand upon mine own feet; I have no help from art; thus high am I, neither higher nor lower." The young Queen was attended by the Duke and Duchess de Chevreuse, Madame de St. George, and a retinue of French servants. The same day the royal party left for Canterbury. At Barham Downs, a banquet was spread for them, and the English ladies of the Queen awaited her.

It was on the Monday after Trinity, June 13th, that the royal cavalcade reached Canterbury, where the contract of marriage was renewed publicly in the great hall by the royal couple in person, but without any further religious ceremony. The reason of this is plain to see, for Roman Catholics would have been shocked, had Henrietta received the rite from an Anglican, and Anglicans would have had reason to feel aggrieved, had their King received it from a Roman ecclesiastic. At the banquet at

(1) Strickland, viii., 22, 23.

Canterbury, the King waited upon the Queen, who ate meat, in spite of her confessor, on the Vigil of St. John Baptist, June 13th (24) !

From Canterbury the King and Queen proceeded towards London, which they reached on Thursday, June 16th, at five o'clock. Their solemn entry had been prevented by the ravages of the plague, the most destructive, so it was asserted, in the memory of man. Accordingly, at Gravesend, the King and Queen, attired in green, entered the state barge, and followed by a procession of barges, and saluted by the British navy, were rowed up the Thames to Whitehall. " It was ill weather, and the day cloudy. When they came by the Tower of London (for they came by water instead of by coach), the King led out the Queen to the outside of the barge, that she might see the people and the city. But at the same time a violent shower of rain falling down, forced them both to return into the inward part of the barge ; but she waved her hand to the people through the open window. The shower continued until they had entered Whitehall, and then ceased."[1]

On June 16th, the Court removed to Windsor, thence to Hampton Court ; thence back to Whitehall.

" June 25, Saturday. All the Bishops, who were then in town, were introduced together, that they might wait upon Queen Mary, and kiss her hand. She received us very graciously."[2]

On Midsummer Day the King appointed Archbishop Abbot, with six other prelates (Andrewes and Laud among them) to draw up a form for Public Fasting and Humiliation, for the plague, which was kept on Saturday, July 2nd, by both Houses, and in the country on the 20th. But by the end of

(1) Laud's Diary.
(2) Ibid.

the year the pestilence had begun to assuage, and the King ordered by his Royal Authority a Public and General Thanksgiving to be observed. Two days were appointed for this General Thanksgiving for recovery from the plague : January 29th, the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany, 1626, was fixed for the observance in London and its environs, while a later date, February 19th, being the Sunday called Quinquagesima, was assigned for the provinces.

King Charles fixed upon the first day possible for his Coronation after London and Westminster were thus pronounced to be virtually free from the plague. Notwithstanding his father's "Book of Sports," the young King, whose first Act of Parliament was one for the better observance of the Lord's Day, did not so far break with the religious idea of respect for Sunday already widely spread in London, as well as in Scotland, as to avail himself of the freedom granted by the *Liber Regalis* to be crowned on the Lord's Day, like Queen Elizabeth, who in this had followed numerous precedents.

The 2nd of February, 1625—6, was a Thursday, and on that day the Feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, commonly called the Purification of Saint Mary the Virgin, or Candlemas Day, should be his Coronation at the Palace of Westminster.

His father had been crowned upon the Feast of St. James the Apostle, the festival of his own eponymous patron saint. It must surely have been with some admixture of tender and religious feeling that King Charles selected a day connected in a special manner with the name of Mary. He designed that his consort should be crowned at the same time as himself, as his father and mother had been crowned together by Whitgift in 1603, though Queen Anne had then declined to receive the Sacrament. But

it is a matter of history that in point of fact Henrietta Maria, though *proclaimed* as Queen on Tuesday, June 21st, 1625, was never crowned or anointed Queen of England. Contemporary letters relate that the Queen "was neither crowned nor at the Church, but their going, though she was offered to have a place made fit for her, but took a chamber at the Palace gate, where she might behold them going and returning." The reason of the absence of the Queen from the Coronation ceremonies was her unwillingness, as a Roman Catholic, to take part in a service of the Church of England.

"At the Coronation of King James," says Heylin, "the form employed had been drawn in haste, and wanted many things which might have been considered in a time of leisure," and it was these circumstances which induced King Charles to issue his commission to Archbishop Abbot and certain of his suffragans to revise the order. Of this committee, the guiding spirit was William Laud, who had been appointed Prebendary of Westminster in 1620, and consecrated Bishop of St. David's in 1621. Through the influence of the Duke of Buckingham, whose confessor he was, Bishop Laud rose steadily in the King's favour. And indeed, both King and Bishop were in the fullest agreement with regard to everything that concerned the welfare of the Church. Laud brought his great learning and the energy of his nature to the task of revising the Coronation service, of bringing it into closer relation with the ancient Latin service, the *Liber Regalis*. Bound manuscript copies of the Office, thus revised, and used at King Charles' Coronation, are to be found in the libraries of Lambeth Palace and St. John's College, Cambridge. One of the copies in St. John's College is believed to be the very Book which

King Charles held in his hand on the occasion, for it bears the express statement, in the handwriting of Archbishop Sancroft, "I have reason to think yt tis ye very Book which the King held in his hand at yt great solemnity."[1]

In mediæval times, it had been the privilege of the Abbot of Westminster to take, next to the Archbishop, the most prominent part in the ceremonies of the Coronation of the Sovereign. The duties of the Abbot had devolved upon the Dean of Westminster. In 1626, John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, held also the Deanery of Westminster, and, under King James, upon the dismissal of Lord Bacon, had been made Lord Keeper. Williams was an able, ambitious man who favoured moderate counsels and compromise. He had offended Prince Charles and Buckingham by his opposition to the Spanish match and the war with Spain. In Church matters he was the opponent of Laud. The fact that he had never resided in his diocese could not be forgotten by the King. Within a few months of King Charles' accession, Williams had been required to deliver up the Great Seal. And now before the Coronation, it was intimated to him that he should not officiate on the occasion, but should select one of the Prebends of Westminster to act as his deputy. Williams replied by sending to the King the names of all the Prebendaries, referring the selection to his Majesty himself, who made choice of Dr. Laud, the Bishop of St. David's, for that attendance.[2]

"On January 31, Tuesday," Laud records in his Diary, "we Bishops and other Peers beforenamed by the King to take counsel concerning the ceremonies of the Coronation, in order that ancient

(1) Chr. Wordsworth, "Coronation of King Charles I."
(2) Fuller, iii., 340.

From a painting by Daniel Mytens. By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

KING CHARLES I.

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custom might be observed, by the order of the King approached him. The King inspected all the regalia. He clothed himself with the tunics of St. Edward. He ordered me to read the directing rubrics. When all had been read, we carried back the regalia to the Church of Westminster, and placed it in its place." No doubt it was on this occasion, when the King was examining the regalia, that he observed "that the left wing of the dove on the sceptre was quite broken off, by what casualty God Himself knows. The King sent for Mr. Acton, then his goldsmith, commanding him that the very same should be set on again. The goldsmith replied that it was impossible to be done so fairly, but that some mark would remain thereof. To whom the King in some passion returned, 'If you will not do it, another shall.' Hereupon, Mr. Acton carried it home, and got another dove of gold to be artificially set on; whereat, when brought back, his Majesty was well contented, as making no discovery thereof."[1]

It had been customary for the Sovereign on the day before the Coronation to ride in state from the Tower of London to Westminster; but on account of the plague but lately abating, this procession was abandoned by King Charles, and he passed from the one place to the other by water. "The evening before the King's Coronation, after his coming from the Tower to his Palace of Westminster, the Dean of Westminster is to put the King in mind to give himself to contemplation and prayer. (The Heads and Summe whereof are in the Rubricks of the King's Booke.)" Bishop Laud had added in his own MS. copy the note, "These were delivered fairly written." The red-silk shirt, open and looped

(1) Ibid, iii., 340.

at the places of anointing, which it was customary to deliver to the King on the eve of the Coronation, was dispensed with by King Charles, who, as we shall see, wore white instead.

Early on the morning of Candlemas Day, Thursday, February 2nd, 1626, the Bishop of St. David's consecrated the Oil for the Anointing of the King, at the Altar of St. Edward the Confessor, behind the High Altar of Westminster Abbey. The Bishop himself states that in the Benediction of the Oil, he used this form :

"*Benedic, Domine, oleum hoc, quo inunguendus est hodie Serenissimus Rex noster et servus tuus Fidelissimus Carolus, ut Spiritu tuo sanctificatum prosit ei per gratiam tuam : ut in omni pietate coram te, et in omni fælicitate coram hominibus, sit Christus tuus unctus præ consortibus suis, omnibus Regibus Christianis, aliisve per Jesum Christum, Dominum Nostrum. Amen.*"

The day of the Coronation dawned fair and clear. "It was a very bright, sunshining day."[1] "The King coming privately by water from his Palace of Whitehall to his old Palace in Westminster about the hour of nine in the morning, entered the great hall of the said Palace, attended by his Nobles and the Peers of England, the Knights of the Bath (who were created the day before), and a great company of his servants, and other knights and gentlemen. And there seated himself upon his Throne prepared for him upon a scaffold in the middle of the said hall. Where, after he was set, came to him in solemn procession the Archbishop of Canterbury (George Abbot), the other Bishops, the Bishop of St. David's (William Laud) supplying the room of the Dean, and the Prebends of Westminster, the Gentlemen of His Majesty's Chapel, the Singing-men and Choris-

(1) Laud's Diary.

ters of the Church of Westminster in their copes and surplices ; and bringing the ancient ornaments and ensigns of honour used in the Coronations of the Kings of England, with all reverence presented the same to his Majesty sitting in his said Throne, who receiving the same delivered them severally to the Duke of Buckingham, Constable of England, who placed the same upon a table near the King's Throne, until the Churchmen were retired, when, as his Majesty called for his said regalia, disposed them to certain great estates of the kingdom, to be borne by them before him towards the Church of St. Peter in Westminster, the place of his Coronation.[1]

The clocks of Westminster had not yet struck ten when the Royal Procession passing from Westminster Hall along a path of gravel, newly laid, and covered with blue cloth, entered the west door of the Abbey in the following order :—[2]

Marshalls.
Trumpets.
The Aldermen of London, two by two.
The King's Solicitor and Attorney.
The King's Serjeant-at-Law.
The Master of Requests.

The Judges in their Ranks	The Barons of the Exchequer.
	The Judges of Both Benches.
	The Lord Chief Baron.
	The Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

Two Pursuivants of Arms.
Eighty Knights of the Bath, in their robes, each having an Esquire to support and a Page to attend him.
Two Pursuivants of Arms.
Master of the Jewell House.
Knights Privy Councillors.
Serjeant Porter.
Serjeant of the Vestry.
Gentlemen of the Chapel, and Prebends of Westminster, all in copes, and singing all the way.

(1) Ibid.
(2) For the account of the Coronation, *vide* Wordsworth, " Coronation of King Charles I."

Two Heralds.

Barons of the Kingdom, all bare-headed, in their Parliament robes, with swords by their sides.

The Bishops with scarlet gowns, and lawn-sleeves, bare-headed.

Two Heralds.

Viscounts, in their Coronation robes of velvet, with caps and coronets in their hands.

Two Heralds.

Earls, in their Coronation robes of velvet, with caps and coronets in their hands.

Clarenceux and Norroy Heralds.

The Lord Treasurer. The Lord Keeper (Sir Thomas Coventry).

The Lord Archbishop (George Abbot).

Sir Geo. Goring / Sir Rich. Winn — The two Esquires of Honour with robes worn baldrick-wise, and caps of Estate in their hands, representing the Dukedoms of Normandy and Guyenne.

The Spurs, borne by the Earl of Montgomery.

St. Edward's Sceptre borne by the Earl of Salisbury.

The pointed sword of temporal justice, borne by the Earl of Kent.	The sword called Curtana of Mercy, borne by the Earl of Essex.	The third sword of spiritual justice, borne by the Earl of Dorset.
The Lord Mayor of London, in a crimson velvet gown, with his Mace.	Garter King-of-Arms.	A Gentleman Usher.

The Great Chamberlain of England,
The Earl of Worcester.

The Constable with his Mace, the Duke of Buckingham.	The sword in the scabbard, borne by the Marquess Hamilton, Earl of Cambridge.	The Earl Marshall of England, the Earl of Arundel.
The rod with the Dove of Clemency, borne by the Earl of Rutland.	The Crown of St. Edward, borne by the Earl of Pembroke.	The Orb of Rule, borne by the Earl of Sussex.

The golden Paten for the Communion, carried by Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester.

The Regale, St. Edward's Chalice of Sapphire and Gold, carried by Dr. Geo. Monteigne, Bishop of London.

The King's Majesty,

supported by two Bishops, Dr. Richard Neile, Bishop of Durham, and Dr. Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, under a canopy borne by the Barons of the Cinque Ports. His Majesty's train, being six yards long of purple velvet, borne by the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Maltravers.

Two Gentlemen of the King's bedchamber, Sir James Fullerton and Sir Robert Carr, followed.

Serjeants-at-Arms on both sides, beginning at the Sword.

Gentlemen Pensioners on each side of the King.

After all these, the Guard.

"At the entering into the Church, the King was met by the Prebends of Westminster in their rich copes, and Bishop Laud, as the Dean's Deputy, delivered into his Majesty's hands the Staff of King Edward the Confessor, with which the King walked up to the Throne, while the choir sang the anthem, newly appointed and made, Ps. cxxii. 1, 4, 5, 6, Ps. lxxxiv. 10, 11." The King thus passing through the body of the Church and so through the Choir, up the stairs to the great stage, five feet high, covered with red cloth, which occupied the space of the crossing between the Choir and the Sanctuary, and which supported the Chair or Throne of State, continued his progress towards the High Altar. Here, after reverence done, his Majesty reposed himself awhile in his Chair of Repose on the south side below the Altar.

Entrance into the Church.

The Coronation service then began with the Recognition. "All being settled and reposed, the Lord Archbishop did present his Majesty to the Lords and Commons." The King returned to the central stage or platform, preceded by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl Marshall, the Lord Constable and the Lord Keeper, and attended by two of the Kings-of-Arms. King Charles, thus accompanied, was presented bareheaded by the Archbishop first to the People on the north and south sides, that is, in the transepts of the Abbey, then to the Nobility on the east, and to the Clergy in the Choir on the west; of all which Three Estates the Archbishop demanded if they did consent to the Coronation of King Charles, their lawful Sovereign. The consent being given four times

The Recognition.

with great acclamation, "God save King Charles," the King took again his Chair of Repose. It is related that the first time the people hesitated when to begin the acclamation, and Lord Arundel, the Earl Marshall, had to prompt them.

First Oblation.

There followed the second Anthem, Ps. lxxxix. 14, 15, during which the Archbishop, after reverence done to the King, entered into St. Edward's Chapel, and after a while came forth invested in his pontificals. The King, supported by the Bishops of Durham and Bath and Wells, and attended by the Deputy of the Dean of Westminster, the Lord Constable and the Earl Marshall, rose from his seat and made his offering before the Altar, a Pall and a Pound of Gold. Then the King returned to his Chair of Repose on the south side of the Altar, while the Bishops of Winchester and London respectively placed upon the Altar the Paten and Chalice, and the Lords (who had carried them) offered their ensigns of honour.

Sermon.

Dr. Richard Senhouse, who had been the King's Chaplain, when Prince of Wales, and who was now Bishop of Carlisle, had the honour to preach upon the day of that great solemnity. An eloquent man he was reputed, and one that could very well express a passion ; but he had chosen such a text, as was more proper for a funeral than a Coronation. "I will give thee a Crown of life. Rev. ii. 10."[1] "In some sort it may be said he preached his own funeral, dying shortly after."[2]

(1) Heylin.
(2) Fuller, iii., 341.

After the sermon, the Archbishop came down and stood before the King, and the King arose and stood, while the Archbishop read to him the Coronation Oath, and one of the Bishops, John Buckridge, Bishop of Rochester, read the Admonition of the Bishops for the privileges of the Church. Fuller says that the Oath was tendered to the King, kneeling on cushions at the Communion-table. Then the King arose, and, being led by the Bishops of Durham and Bath and Wells to the High Altar, he made his solemn oath in the sight of all the people to observe the promises, and to be "as every good King in his kingdom ought to be, the protector and defender of the Bishops and Churches under their government," and "laid his hand on the book, and kissed it *super Evangelium S. Joannis*. The Bible was the great one covered with gold, which usually stands upon the Altar at Whitehall."[1] It was the *Textus Evangelii*, traditionally said to have belonged to King Athelstan (925—940) and now among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. Sir Robert Cotton had brought the volume to his stairs on the Thames at 8 a.m. [but was balked by the royal barge putting in at Parliament stairs]. The actual words of the King's oath were, "The things which I have here promised, I shall perform and keep. So help me God, and the contents of this Book."

The Oath.

When the King had returned to his faldstool before the Altar and had knelt down, the Archbishop began, and the choir sang, the hymn, *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, using the longer English version.

Veni Creator.

Then the Archbishop coming to the King, and

(1) Laud's Diary.

his Majesty still kneeling, the Archbishop prayed over him, and the Litany was sung by two Bishops, Thomas Morton, Bishop of Lichfield, and Lewis Bayley, Bishop of Bangor, kneeling at a faldstool upon the stage, that the Choir might hear and know when to answer. Two yeomen of the Vestry in scarlet mantles gave notice to the two Bishops to sing the Litany ; placed the Litany-desk eastward for them and the cushions ; helped to vest them in their copes ; and subsequently removed the desk to St. Edward's Chapel. In the Litany was inserted this petition : *Ut præsentem Famulum tuum Carolum in tuâ pietate confirmare justiciâ et sanctitate digneris. Te rogamas audi nos.*

After the Litany, the Proper Prayers for the Coronation were read by Theophilus Feild, Bishop of Llandaff.

The Anointing.

The Litany and the Prayers being ended, the Archbishop began the *Sursum Corda* and the Preface to the Anointing. " After which the King arising from his Chair on the south side below, went to his Chair of State on the north side. Then standing before the High Altar, he was disrobed of his upper garments by the Earl of Worcester, the Great Chamberlain." " His Majesty's robes were taken off him, and were offered on the Altar. He stood for a while stripped to his doublet and hose, which were of white satin, with ribbons on the arms and shoulders to open them ; and he appeared a proper person to all that beheld him " (Fuller). " It was observed also that his Majesty on that day was clothed in white, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, who were on that day clad in purple. And this he did, not out of any necessity, for want of purple

velvet, enough to make a suit (for he had many yards of it in his outward garment) but his own choice only, to declare that Virgin purity with which he came to be espoused unto his kingdom. This some looked on also [as well as the text of the Bishop of Carlisle's sermon, and the broken dove of the sceptre, and the explosion of the gun at Dover upon the Queen's landing there] as an ill presage" (Heylin). From his white dress at his Coronation, King Charles I. has been called the "White King."

Coif and Dalmatic.

"Then was he led by the Lord Archbishop and the Bishop of St. David's, and placed in the Chair of Coronation (a close canopy being spread over him) [held by two Knights of the Garter], the Bishop of St. David's brought the Ampull with the oil and the spoon from the Altar and poured the Holy Oil in the spoon for the Archbishop, who anointed the King in the palms of both his hands, saying the prayers appointed, while the Choir sang the anthem, "Zadok the Priest and Nathan the Prophet anointed Solomon King, and all the people rejoiced and said, God save the King forever."[1] The Archbishop proceeded with the anointing of the King on the breast, between both the shoulders, on both the shoulders, on the boughs of both arms, the crown of the head. Having dried all the places of the anointing, save the head and the hands, with fine wool, brought in a bag of crimson tapestry, the Bishop of St. David's closed the loops of the King's doublet, and the Archbishop continued the prayers of the Office. After which a linen coif was put upon the King's head, and linen

(1) Fuller, iii., 342, cf. 1 Kings i., 32, 45.

gloves were put upon his hands. The King called for King Edward's ivory comb and used it. And so arising in his doublet and hose, King Charles prostrated himself before the Altar, "where Bishop Laud, deputy for the Dean of Westminster, brought forth the ancient habiliments of King Edward the Confessor [the *Colobium Sindonis*, formed like a dalmatic], and put them on him," with proper prayers read by the Archbishop. The supertunic or close pall was then put upon the King over the dalmatic. Then his Majesty came down to the north chair below the Altar, and seated there the hose and sandals of cloth of gold were put on. The Duke of Buckingham, as Master of the Horse, put on his spurs. The Archbishop standing at the Altar, the King arose from his chair, invested in St. Edward's robes, came to the Altar, and standing there, received from the Archbishop the Sword, hallowed with a proper prayer, and the Sword was girt on by one of the Peers. In like manner was the Armill, like a stole, put about the King's neck by Bishop Laud. Then was the Mantle or Open Pall, put upon the King's shoulders, all with special prayers.

Investiture, Armill and Mantle. The Crown.

"After that, the King being seated in the old chair with Jacob's stone in it, on the north side, below the Altar, the Archbishop, having placed the crown upon the Altar, hallowed it, and set it upon the King's head, with a special prayer, the choir singing an anthem, 'Thou shall put a crown of pure gold on his head.' Ps. xxi. 3.

"Whereupon the Earls and Viscounts put on their crimson velvet caps with coronets about them (the Barons and Bishops standing bareheaded)."[1]

(1) Fuller's "Church History of Britain," iii., 343.

There followed the Investiture with the Ring on the fourth finger of the King's right hand, and then his "Majesty, thus anointed, invested and crowned, arose from his chair, and went up to the Altar, and there took off his sword and offered it up. Then the Chief Peer present redeemed the Sword, took it from the Altar, drew it out of its scabbard, and so carried it before the King from that time during the whole solemnity." Then the Archbishop delivered the Sceptre with the Cross (of St. Edward) into the King's right hand, "which was supported by the Earl of Pembroke, who by tenure of the Manor of Worksop was to give the King a glove with the Arms of Verdon on the back of it, and to sustain the King's hand holding the said Sceptre"; and also the Rod with the Dove into the King's left hand.

Investiture with Ring and Staff.

After this the Archbishop blessed the King, kneeling before the Altar.

The King, sitting down in King Edward's chair, kissed the Archbishop and all the Bishops who were assisting at his Coronation. "Then every Bishop came severally to His Majesty to bring his benediction upon him, and he in King Edward's robes, with the crown upon his head, rose from his chair and did bow severally to every Bishop apart" (Fuller). "Then was His Majesty conducted by all the Bishops and other Peers, every one in his place attending him, to the central stage in the crossing of the Abbey for the Enthronisation. Here the King reposed himself in his Chair of State before

Benediction and Te Deum.

the Throne, while the Choir sang the *Te Deum*, at the end of which the King was assisted ("lift up" is the word of the rubrick) into his Throne by the Archbishop and other Peers of the Realm, the Archbishop saying the prescribed prayer. The first act of the King, when thus he had been enthroned, was to "take a scroll of parchment out of his bosom and to give it to the Lord Keeper Coventry, who read it to the Commons four several times at the four sides of the stage, East, West, North and South. The effect whereof was that His Majesty did offer a pardon to all his subjects who would take it under his Broad Seal." "Then the Lords went down into their seats between the stage and the Altar." "And then the King thus sitting in his Majesty, the drums and trumpets sounding, and the Church and air filled with frequent acclamations of the people, the Archbishop, making reverence three times, ascended the steps of the Throne, and kneeling at the King's feet, did homage for himself and all the Bishops, and kissed the King's left cheek. After this, all the Lords, the chiefest first, did their homage in like manner." "Then as many Earls and Barons as could conveniently stand about the Throne, did lay their hands on the crown on His Majesty's head, protesting to spend their bloods to maintain it to him and his lawful heirs."[1]

Enthronisation.

Pardon and Homage.

The King then delivered the Sceptre and the Rod with the Dove to the Lords who had carried them in the procession. The Archbishop left the King in his Throne and went to the Altar to begin the Coronation Mass. Meanwhile the Choir sang as

High Mass.

(1) Fuller, iii., 343.

the Introit the anthem "Behold, O God our Defender, and look upon the face of Thine Anointed."[1]

The Archbishop then began the Mass, using the proper Collect for the Coronation. The Epistle, 1 St. Peter ii. 11—17, was read by Theophilus Feild, Bishop of Llandaff, and the Gospel, St. Matt. xxii. 15—22, was read by Samuel Harsnet, Bishop of Norwich. Then the Archbishop began, and the Choir sang, the Nicene Creed. At the Offertory, the Choir sang the anthem, "Let my prayer come up into Thy Presence as the Incense, and the lifting up of my hands be as an evening sacrifice."[2] In the meanwhile the King came down from his Throne, "attended by the Constable and Marshall going before him," and, approaching the Altar, the King offered first the bread and wine for the Mass, which were delivered into the King's hands by the Bishop who had read the Gospel, and secondly a mark of gold, which was delivered by the Treasurer of the Household to the Great Chamberlain, and by him to the King. After each offering, the King knelt while the Archbishop pronounced over him the Prayers and Blessing. "King Charles knelt on the steps of the Altar all the while" the Archbishop celebrated the Mass. "The assistant Bishops were Neile of Durham and Laud of St. David's, besides the Epistoller and Gospeller, all of whom were vested in rich copes."

Second Oblation.

After that the Archbishop and his assistants had received the Holy Communion, the Archbishop administered the Lord's Body to the King, and the Bishop of St. David's, the Lord's Blood. During the Communion of the King, "the faire ordinary towel, which he uses at Whitehall, was brought to,

The Communion.

(1) Ps. lxxxiv., 9. (2) Ps. cxli., 2.

and held before him." "Here the Choir should have sung *Gloria in Excelsis*, but because they could not take the Archbishop's voice so far off, it was read."[1]

The Return.

When the Mass was ended, the King, accompanied and attended as before, went into St. Edward's Chapel, and at the Altar there the King took off his crown and delivered it to the Archbishop, who laid it upon the Altar ; the Great Chamberlain of England disrobed the King of St. Edward's robes, and delivered them to the Bishop of St. David's, who laid them upon the Altar. Then the King was newly arrayed, by the Great Chamberlain, with his own robes royal prepared for him to wear that day—black velvet robes lined with ermine [short robe of red velvet—Fuller]. The Archbishop put on the King's head his own Imperial Crown, set with very precious stones. The King took into his hand the Sceptre, which is kept in the Tower, and the other Sceptre and the Rod with the Dove were carried before him by the same Lords, to whom they were delivered at the first. The Procession was then reformed, in the order in which it had entered the Abbey, and passed from St. Edward's Altar up to the stage, and so through the midst of the Choir and the body of the Church out at the west door, and so returned to the Palace of Westminster, about the hour of three, in the afternoon. In Westminster Hall, the regalia were delivered to Bishop Laud, who "offered them at the Altar in the King's name, and then reposited them in the Abbey Church. Then, because there was no banquet at King Charles' Coronation, his Majesty and his train took barges on the water to Whitehall.

(1) *Vide* Laud ; Wordsworth.

" In so great a ceremony, and amidst an incredible concourse of people, nothing was lost, or broke, or disordered. The theatre was clear, and free for the King, the Peers, and the business in hand ; and I heard some of the nobility saying to the King in their return, that they had never seen any solemnity, although much less, performed with so little noise, and so great order " (Laud).

In concluding this account of the Coronation of King Charles I., it should be remarked, first, how closely the service followed the ancient *Liber Regalis* for the Coronation of the Kings of England ; secondly, how clearly the rite sets forth the Divine source and gift of the King's office ; and, thirdly, with what religious solemnity and personal devotion King Charles submitted himself to his hallowing, investiture and Coronation.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST THREE PARLIAMENTS.

1625—1629.

Inherited burthens of the Crown—Temper of the Commons—First Parliament—Cordiality of the King's Speech—Petitions of the Commons against Roman Catholics and against Dr. Montague—Meagre supplies—Dissolution—Treaty with the Dutch against Spain—Failure of the expedition to Cadiz—Second Parliament—Pricking of Sheriffs—Committees of the Commons—On religion—On grievances—On evils—Impeachment of Buckingham—The King defends Buckingham—Parliament dissolved—Strained relations between England and France—The Queen's French attendants dismissed by the King—Mission of Bassompierre—Methods of raising money—War with France—Expedition to the Ile de Rhé—Third Parliament—Petition of Right—The King's answer—Excitement in the Commons—The King prorogues Parliament—Laud, Bishop of London—Wentworth, President of the Council of the North—Assassination of Buckingham—Disorders in the Commons—Eliot and eight others sent to the Tower—Dissolution—Conflicting principles—The King's principles of government—Attitude of the Commons—Puritan Revolution.

While to the superficial observer the new reign had opened auspiciously, there was a legacy of burthens bequeathed from King James' time, which could hamper seriously the new sovereign, and there were movements already stirring beneath the surface of things, of whose power King Charles was not yet fully aware. He had inherited from his father both the beginning of a war with Spain and the want of means to carry it on. The debts of the Crown were so enormous, that only by the strictest economy could the state of the royal court be main-

tained. The wealth, power and influence of the Duke of Buckingham, the King's intimate friend and chief adviser, were looked upon with more than jealousy by both Lords and Commons, who were ready to attribute all the misfortunes of the kingdom to his counsels. In the House of Commons there was a notable group of men, country gentlemen of position and substance, like Sir John Eliot, John Hampden and John Pym, great lawyers, like Sir Edward Coke, Selden, Sir Thomas Wentworth and Edward Hyde, who were determined to maintain not only the privileges of Parliament, but also the civil liberties of the people, against what they considered any encroachment upon them by the prerogatives of the Crown. They inherited a distrust of the policy of the Court from the Parliaments of King James, and they recognised as their weapon in a contest with the King their power to grant to him, or to withhold from him, supplies, on the condition of his yielding to them the concessions, which they might demand. There was, furthermore, the growing party of the Puritans, whose theology was that of John Calvin, and whose watchword was hatred of Rome, who demanded the strictest execution of the penal laws upon their fellow-subjects, the English Romanists, and who regarded the loyal members of the Church of England as scarcely better than Romanists in disguise.

The King had summoned his first Parliament to meet at Westminster, and had appointed Bishop Laud to preach at the opening of the session, on May 17th, 1625; but, owing to the delay of the Queen's arrival in England, the meeting was postponed first until May 30th, and then until June 18th. So that the King had but barely escorted his bride to Hampton Court, when he was obliged to

leave the festivities of his marriage for the sterner business of meeting his Parliament.

On Saturday, June 18th, 1625, therefore, "The first Parliament of King Charles, which had been so often put off, now began. There were present at the opening of it, the Duke of Chevreuse with other French noblemen; a Bishop also, who attended the Queen. For fear of the pestilence, which then began to be very rife, the King omitted the pomp usual upon that day, lest the great conflux of people should be of ill consequence. And the sermon, which had been imposed upon me to be preached in Westminster Abbey at the beginning of this session, was put off to the next, that is to June 19th, First Sunday after Trinity, on which day I preached in the Chapel at Whitehall."[1]

"It cannot be alleged against Charles the First that he preceded the Parliament in the war of words. He courted their affections; and even in this manner of reception, amidst the dignity of the regal office, studiously showed his exterior respect by the marked solemnity of their first meeting. As yet uncrowned, on the day on which he first addressed the Lords and Commons, he wore his crown, and veiled it at the opening, and on the close of his speech, a circumstance to which the Parliament had not been accustomed. Another ceremony gave still greater solemnity to the meeting: the King would not enter into business until they had united in prayer. He commanded the doors to be closed, and a Bishop to perform the office."[2]

The Speech from the Throne was gracious, marked by cordiality and simplicity. The King stated that he had need of money for a war, but he avoided

(1) Laud's Diary.
(2) Disraeli, "Curiosities of Literature," vol. iv., 374.

mentioning any fixed sum, throwing himself wholly upon the generosity of his lieges. "I hope," he said, "that you do remember that you were pleased to employ me to advise my father to break off the treaties (with Spain). I came into this business willingly, and freely, like a young man, and consequently rashly; but it was by your interest—your engagement. I pray you to remember, that this being my *first action*, and begun by *your advice and entreaty*, what a great dishonour it were to you and me that it should fail for that assistance you are able to give me."[1]

The attitude of the Commons was not reassuring. The first act of the two Houses was to petition the King "to put into immediate execution all the existing laws against Roman recusants and missionaries. At no time could such an address have proved more unwelcome to his feelings. He had just married a Roman Catholic princess; he had bound himself by treaty to grant indulgence to her brethren of the same faith; and his palace was crowded with Roman Catholic noblemen, whom he had invited from France to do honour to his nuptials."[2] But he subdued his vexation, and returned a gracious answer.

The second matter to engage the attention of the Commons was the consideration of the theological works of Dr. Richard Montague, Canon of Windsor, who in controverting Roman proselytizers had repudiated Calvinism and Lutheranism from the Church of England, had declared that Anglicans differed from Roman Catholics only in the matter of Roman errors—and, when questioned by the Commons in

(1) Rushworth's Collection of State Papers, quoted by Disraeli' iv., 374.

(2) Lingard's "History of England," vol. ix., 242.

King James' reign, had appealed to the King himself. A Committee of the Commons believed that they discovered much in Montague's writings that seemed in opposition to the Articles of Religion and the Homilies ; his "Appeal to Cæsar" was voted a contempt of the House ; and the unfortunate divine was committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms. Then the King intervened by appointing Montague his Chaplain, and claiming for himself the punishment of the offence. This the Commons refused, and the prisoner was obliged to give bail for his appearance.

The third subject before Parliament was the state of the King's finances. In the Speech from the Throne the King had intimated the need of subsidies for the war with Spain, for which the people had clamoured only the year before. But, to the surprise and vexation of the King, two subsidies only amounting to £140,000 were voted as supply ; and tonnage and poundage, which it had been the custom, for the last two hundred years, to grant to every new sovereign for life, were limited to King Charles for one year. "This last resolution seemed an insult, and the Lords refused to sanction it. Why should the Commons, demanded the Court people, place less confidence in the present king than in his predecessors ? They all had the customs duties voted for the continuance of their reign. Yet his Majesty had exhibited, with a rare sincerity, the state of the finances, refusing no document, no voucher, no explanation, that was required. The urgency of the public necessities was evident ; there was little wisdom, thought the Lords, in angering so soon, without motive, a young prince, who showed himself so inclined to live on good terms with the parliament."[1]

At this juncture, owing to the alarming increase

(1) Guizot, "History of the English Revolution," p. 13.

of the plague, Parliament was adjourned on July 11th, to meet, after a short recess, in the city of Oxford. In the interim, news arrived that the eight ships, which had been lent to Louis XIII., in pursuance of the treaty with France, were to be used against the Huguenots of La Rochelle. So that when Parliament met in Oxford, on August 1st, the feeling of distrust for the policy of Buckingham was deepened. The King was obliged to lay before the Parliament the specific figures of the enormous debts, which he had inherited from his father, and of those, which he had incurred himself, of the demands of his fleet, and of the maintenance of Ireland, besides the estimated cost of the projected war with Spain. To all of this the Commons turned deaf ears. They refused to vote anything like an adequate supply, and "a great assault was made against the Duke of Buckingham." To show his displeasure at their refusal of his request, and to protect his minister from their charges, the King dissolved Parliament on August 12th.

It is necessary only to mention the events of the remaining months of this year : the forced loan for the war with Spain ; the journey of the Duke of Buckingham to Holland to arrange an alliance against Spain and Austria, and to raise money on the crown jewels ; the Treaty of Southampton, signed on September 8th, with the Dutch against Spain ; the expedition of Sir Edward Cecil, Lord Wimbledon, against Cadiz and the Spanish treasure fleet, and its disastrous failure.

The necessitous condition of the King's affairs demanded the summoning of the second Parliament of his reign. An attempt was made to anticipate, and to crush, the opposition to Buckingham and to the voting of supplies, by appointing Coke,

Wentworth and others as sheriffs of their respective counties, thus unseating them in the Commons. Writs for the summoning of Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and Digby, Earl of Bristol, to the House of Lords, were refused, owing to their known enmity to the Duke of Buckingham. On February 6th, 1626, Bishop Laud preached the sermon before the King and the House of Peers at the opening of Parliament. The temper of the Commons was shown by the Committees, which they appointed at the beginning of the session ; on religion ; on grievances ; on evils, causes and remedies. The Committee on religion took up again the case of Dr. Montague. They traced to Popery many of the troubles of the time, and they recommended increased severity in the execution of the penal laws against Roman recusants. The Committee on grievances drew up a list of sixteen abuses, as subversive of the liberties of the people, chief of which were impositions, purveyance, and the levying of tonnage and poundage without the authority of Parliament. But the Committee on evils absorbed the interest, and called out the passions, of the entire session, for, in its report, the Committee attributed all the misfortunes of the kingdom to the Duke of Buckingham, and on May 8th articles of impeachment were presented to the Peers by Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Diggs against Buckingham for corruption in the buying and selling of offices, for incompetence in the management of affairs, and for the support given to France against the Huguenots. In their charges against the Duke, Eliot and Diggs had used language which seemed to be a scarcely veiled attack upon the King himself, and King Charles came in person to the House of Lords to avow Buckingham's actions as his own.

" The King, whose personal affections were always

strong, considered his friend innocent ; and there was a warm, romantic feature in the character of the youthful monarch, which scorned to sacrifice his faithful companion to his own interests, and to immolate the minister to the clamours of the Commons. Subsequently, when the King did this in the memorable case of the guiltless Strafford, it was the only circumstance which weighed on his mind, at the hour of his own sacrifice ! Sir Robert Cotton told a friend, on the day on which the King went down to the House of Lords, and committed the two patriots, that ' he had of late been often sent for to the King and Duke, and that the King's affection towards him was very admirable, and no whit lessened. Certainly,' he added, ' the King will never yield to the Duke's fall, being a young man, resolute, magnanimous, and tenderly and firmly affectionate where he takes.' "[1]

The King's conduct at this time was the beginning of his troubles, and the first of his more open attempts to crush the popular party.

By Royal Command, both Eliot and Diggs were committed to the Tower ; but within a few days they were released, when the Commons denied that they had heard them use disloyal language, and refused to continue their business until the imprisoned members should be set at large.

The Earl of Bristol, whose writ of summons had been withheld, had complained to the Peers, and in consequence, on March 31st, the writ was issued to him, but a letter accompanied it forbidding him to attend the sessions of the Parliament. Bristol, however, disregarded the prohibition, and took his seat in the Lords. He was accused at once by the King of high treason, on the counts, that he had asserted the sincerity of the Spanish cabinet at the

(1) Disraeli, " Curiosities of Literature," iv., 382.

time of the marriage treaty ; that he had—at least indirectly—concurred in the plan of inducing the Prince to change his religion ; that, by seeking to deliver the proxy to the King of Spain, he had sought to force the Prince into the marriage with the Infanta ; and that he had given the lie to his sovereign by terming that false which the King affirmed to be true. Bristol repelled the charges against himself, and brought counter charges against Buckingham ; that it was the Duke who had drawn the Prince into Spain with a view to changing his religion ; that Buckingham's own behaviour in Madrid had given grave offence to the Spanish Court ; and that the Duke had broken the contract with Spain on purely personal grounds. The mutual recriminations of Bristol and Buckingham entertained the Parliament during the rest of the month of May, with the result of the vindication of the Earl of Bristol. At the same time an attempt was made to sequester another of Buckingham's opponents, no less a personage than the Earl of Arundel, Earl Marshall of England, who was imprisoned for the marriage of his son with a daughter of the Duke of Lennox, of royal blood, without the King's consent. It was claimed that this imprisonment was a breach of privilege of the House of Lords, the House then sitting, and accordingly Lord Arundel was released, but not until 1628.

In June, Buckingham made his reply to the accusations of the Commons ; but the only answer of the House was a petition to the King for the Duke's dismissal from all offices of trust, and a refusal to grant the King any further supplies. As a counterstroke, the King recommended Buckingham for the office of Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and ordered Parliament at once to be dissolved. The Lords of the Council begged for delay in the

dissolution ; but King Charles exclaimed, " No, not of one minute." The session was concluded abruptly on June 16th, yet not before the Commons had sent their remonstrance to the King. This by the King's command was burnt in public.

The difficulties of the King and his Council were increasing. They were embarked in a bitter and obstinate quarrel with Parliament, which had been dissolved without its voting a sixpence for the necessities of the government of the kingdom. England was engaged in a war with Spain. And now, for many and mysterious causes, the relations between England and France began to be strained. The presence of the eight English ships in the service of France at La Rochelle, led to misunderstanding, and prevented the operation of the league of England, France and Holland against Spain and Austria. The French complained that the toleration of Romanists in England, stipulated for in the King's marriage treaty, was granted too slowly and incompletely, while popular feeling in England demanded that what toleration there was should be withdrawn. Certain French ships, which were carrying materials of war to the Spaniards, had been seized by the English. The encouragement given by England to La Rochelle was resented by France. And the personal element was not wanting in the growing differences between the two countries. The domestic happiness, which the King and Queen of England had enjoyed in the first months of their marriage, had given place to a succession of petty quarrels. The King complained of the caprice and petulance of his wife, while the Queen objected to the austere dignity of her husband. He attributed their disagreement to the discontent of her French attendants ; she and her relations, to the interested suggestions of

Buckingham. The question of religion entered very largely into these disputes. The Queen's Chapels were crowded. It was fashionable to attend Mass there. The King refused all applications for the increase of Church room for the Romanists. "If the Queen's Chapel was not big enough, she might hold her service in the hall. If the hall was not big enough, there was the park." In fact, the King had found his wife's household so disagreeable, so inclined to make mischief between himself and his wife, and in their ostentatious Romanism so repulsive to the nation, that he had felt himself compelled, after several stormy scenes, to drive them ignominiously from the country. "Taking the Queen by the hand, he led her into a separate apartment, and, having informed her of his purpose, conducted her to his Palace of Nonsuch. In the meantime, Secretary Conway read to her attendants the Royal order for their immediate removal to Somerset House ; and the yeomen of the guard, with their halberts, compelled them to depart. Their wages were paid, gratuities were added, and after many objections and delays, the whole body, amounting to sixty, partly by persuasion, partly by force, consented to embark on August 12th, 1626, and was safely landed in France."[1] But this violent dismissal of the household of Queen Henrietta Maria was resented as a personal affront by the King of France. War at this time was averted only by the policy of the French ambassador extraordinary, Bassompierre. He found the King and Queen highly exasperated against each other ; but by argument and entreaty he induced them both to yield.

Before the King gave audience to Bassompierre at Hampton Court, he sent Buckingham to the am-

(1) Lingard, ix., 264.

bassador to direct that nothing relating to the differences of the royal pair might be mentioned or alluded to at the public interview. "For I cannot," said King Charles, "help putting myself in a passion when discussing these matters, which would not be decent in the chair of state, in sight of the chief persons of the realm; likewise the Queen, my wife, seated close to me, grieved at the remembrance of the dismissal of her servants, might commit some extravagance, and would at least cry in the sight of everyone." "The Duke of Buckingham," pursues Bassompierre, "then introduced me to the audience. I found the King and Queen seated on two chairs raised on a stage of two steps. They rose at the first bow I made. The company was magnificent, the order exquisite."[1]

A new establishment was formed for the Queen, partly of French, but principally of English, servants. One of the Queen's French ladies was Charlotte de le Tremouille, afterwards Countess of Derby, and justly celebrated for the heroic defence of Lathom House. A Bishop, a confessor and his companion, and ten priests, provided they were neither Jesuits nor Oratorians, were allowed. They were in fact Capuchins. And in addition to the Chapel originally prepared for the Infanta at St. James', it was agreed that another should be built for the Queen's use at the Queen's dower palace, Somerset (or Denmark) House. "This arrangement restored harmony between the royal couple. Charles congratulated himself on the dutiful and affectionate behaviour of his wife; and Henrietta soon obtained considerable influence over the heart, and even the judgment of her husband."[2]

On August 27th, 1626, news was received of the

(1) Strickland, viii., 35, 36.
(2) Lingard, ix., 264, 265.

utter defeat of the Protestants, under Christian IV. of Denmark, by the imperial forces led by Count Tilly. This disaster was owing mainly to the failure of the English subsidies, which had been promised for the support of the cause of the Elector Palatine, and which Parliament had refused to grant. It strengthened the contention of the King, that supplies must be had by whatever means. Accordingly a demand was made for a free gift. This met with no response. Then, under orders of the Privy Seal, money was collected by forced loans, and tonnage and poundage, though not yet voted by Parliament, were levied as in former reigns. Poor men were pressed for the army, and billeted upon refractory gentlemen. Seaports were commanded to provide ships, in proportion to their population and wealth. This is the first appearance in the reign of King Charles of that tax, which, under the name of ship-money, was to become afterwards so famous. The resistance to these measures was general throughout the country. The City of London refused to pay its quota. Eight peers, with the Earls of Essex and Warwick at their head, declined to comply with the exactions on the ground that they were illegal. Five knights, who had been imprisoned for non-payment of the forced loan, appealed for a writ of "*habeas corpus*"; the writ was issued, but no cause for their committal was given, except that the prisoners had been committed by the command of the King. Meanwhile, the doctrine of the Divine right of Kings and of the duty of subjects "to yield a passive obedience," was preached by many of the Clergy, notably by Dr. Sibthorpe, who was made one of the King's Chaplains in ordinary, and Dr. Mainwaring, whose case was taken up by the Commons in the Parliament of 1628.

"From the moment when King Charles dismissed the Queen's Romish servants, the Papal nuncio in Paris had not ceased to inflame the resentment felt by Louis XIII. and his mother, and to exhort them to make common cause with the King of Spain in revenging the insults which had been offered to both crowns."[1] By April, 1627, the agent of Urban VIII. had succeeded in effecting the purpose of the Papal Court, and a treaty of alliance was formed between France and Spain, with the further design of the invasion of England. But, with commendable promptitude, King Charles anticipated this measure, and declared war upon France first, instigated, it is said, by Buckingham, who, if contemporary report is to be believed, threw his own amorous addresses to the Queen of France, and his pique at the natural resentment of the French King and his subjects, into the balance for war. The money, so hardly collected, was used to equip a great armament, which, under the command of Buckingham himself, sailed in June for the Ile de Rhé. The object of the campaign was to help La Rochelle and the French Protestants in their struggle with Richelieu, and thus to divert the power of France from the coast of England. But the expedition ended in complete failure, and at the end of October, Buckingham brought back the poor remnant of his forces to England. King Charles received the Duke "with a cheerful countenance, and undiminished affection. He had even the generosity to transfer the blame from Buckingham to himself, and to give out, that the failure was owing to the want of supplies, which it was his own duty to have provided."[2]

But the honour of England was at stake. The

(1) Lingard, ix., 269.
(2) Ibid, 273.

nation was engaged in war with the two most powerful monarchies of Europe. That war must go on. But to carry it on with effect, the King must have money, and he had none. It was dangerous to repeat the experiment of the forced loans. To call another Parliament appeared the only practicable means of raising money for the war. On January 29th, 1628, at the suggestion of Sir Robert Cotton, the Duke of Buckingham proposed at the Council-table that a Parliament should be called. With some difficulty, the King was induced to give his consent, saying that he did abominate the name of Parliament. However, the resolution was carried, and the writs were issued for Monday, March 17th, following. Laud, now Bishop-designate of London, preached at the opening on Eph. iv. 3, "Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

There was need of such words, but little heed was given them, and the session was from its opening one of strife. Sir Thomas Wentworth took the leadership of the Commons. He was opposed to war, especially war with Spain. He was a monarchist, who believed that in a struggle between the King and the Commons, the King was more likely to be in the right, if he took the advice of wise counsellours; but Wentworth doubted the wisdom of Buckingham's counsels, and therefore he threw himself into the opposition of the Commons against the present policy of the government. Wentworth proposed a bill, declaring the impositions and forced loans to be illegal for the future. But, when the King refused to accept the bill, Wentworth, who was unwilling to take an active part in a struggle with the King himself, withdrew into the background for the remainder of the session. But instead of Wentworth's bill, Eliot and the lawyers, among them Coke and Selden,

drew up and presented to the King that memorable document known as the Petition of Right, regarded as the second great Charter of the personal liberty of Englishmen. Briefly, the Petition begged of the King :

(1) That no freeman be required to give any gift, loan, benevolence or tax, without common consent by Act of Parliament.

(2) That no freeman be imprisoned or detained contrary to the law of the land.

(3) That soldiers or mariners be not billeted in private houses.

(4) That commissions to punish soldiers and sailors by martial law be revoked, and no more issued.

The King "was willing to promise everything else asked of him, but he resisted the attempt to force him to promise never to imprison without shewing cause, and thus to strip himself of the power of punishing offences directed against the safety of the State." On June 2nd, the King took his place on the Throne in the House of Lords, summoned the Commons before him, caused the Petition to be read to him, and then, instead of the accustomed formula for the royal assent to, or for rejection of, a bill, his Majesty replied "That right should be done according to the laws and customs of the realm." This answer caused great dissatisfaction to the Commons, who considered it an evasion of their Petition. It was regarded as the work of Buckingham. During the debates of June 5th, a message came from the King announcing the speedy close of the Parliament, bidding them undertake no new business, and least of all to cast aspersions on his ministers. Sir Dudley Diggs, speaking on this point, was checked by Finch, the Speaker. The excitement of the House rose to such a pitch that

tears were freely shed. At length Sir Edward Coke uttered the feeling of the House in a direct attack upon the Duke of Buckingham. The Speaker begged leave to retire for half an hour ; and the House, that it might speak more freely, resolved itself into a Committee. The Speaker was absent three hours in conference with the King, during which time the House gave free vent to its pent-up indignation. On his return, the Speaker announced that the King would meet the Houses in person. Doubtless the Speaker had made the King clearly understand the determined feeling of the House, for when his Majesty met them on June 7th, he tore from the Petition his first answer, and ordered the usual words, "*Soit droit fait comme il desiré*," to be appended in its place.

To show their gratitude, the Commons at once completed the grant of five subsidies to the King ; but at the same time they drew up a remonstrance wherein they declared illegal, a commission, established just before the beginning of Parliament, for examining into the possible means of raising money ; they voted Buckingham to be the cause of all the grievances of the kingdom ; they asserted the illegality of the collection of tonnage and poundage ; and they complained of innovations in religion. On June 12th, Bishop Laud was complained of by the House of Commons for warranting Dr. Mainwaring's sermons to the press. On the 13th, Dr. Mainwaring answered for himself before the Lords ; and the next day he was censured. He was sentenced to be imprisoned, to be fined £1,000, was required to make submission, suspended for three years, disqualified from enjoying any further preferment or office.

The Commons' remonstrance was presented to the

King on June 17th. Disgusted with the slight advantages his concessions had gained him, fearing the consequences of the attack upon the Duke of Buckingham, and determined not to lose tonnage and poundage, the King prorogued Parliament.

During the summer, events occurred which affected in various ways the conditions, under which Parliament was to meet again after the prorogation. On July 15th, the translation of Bishop Laud from Bath and Wells to London was completed, and he became the King's chief adviser in matters ecclesiastical. Dr. Mainwaring received a free pardon, and was preferred to the living of Stanford Rivers, which he held together with St. Giles-in-the-Fields. Dr. Montague, who had distressed the conscience of the Commons of King Charles' first Parliament by his repudiation of Protestantism, was consecrated Bishop of Chichester. The King issued a declaration, which would, as he hoped, make for peace in religious matters. No one was, in future, to speak in public on controverted points. Sir Thomas Wentworth withdrew finally from the opposition, was raised to the peerage as Baron, then Viscount Wentworth, and presently was made Lord President of the Council of the North. On August 23rd, the Duke of Buckingham, the cause and the object of so much strife, was assassinated in Portsmouth. The expedition, which he was to have led to the relief of La Rochelle, sailed, under the command of the Earl of Lindsey, but proved, like its predecessors, a miserable failure.

On January 20th, 1629, the prorogued Parliament reassembled at Westminster. "The Commons had scarcely begun their session before they proceeded to ascertain what effect had been given to the Bill of Rights. They learned that, instead of the King's

second answer, it was the first, which had been added to it. Norton, the King's printer, owned that the very day after the prorogation, he had received orders thus to alter the legal text, and to suppress all the copies which contained the second answer, in granting which the King had said, 'I have done my part, wherefore, if this Parliament have not a happy conclusion, the sin is yours. I am free from it.'"[1] Was this suppression ordered by the King's Council, or by some minister of State, without the knowledge of the King? Or did the King himself, exasperated by the conduct of the Commons, consider himself released from the obligation of his second answer, and command it to be expunged, consequently, from the document? The King had declared, however, that his second answer to the Petition differed in no wise from his first. The Commons at once resumed the discussion of their grievances, the neglect to observe, as they conceived it, the clauses of the Petition of Right; the innovations, as they termed them, in religion; and the royal favour shown to the Bishops of London and Winchester, and to Drs. Montague and Mainwaring. When the Speaker was requested to put to the House the question of these complaints, he refused, saying that he had received an order for adjournment from the King. Again on March 2nd, the Speaker declared that the King had ordered him to adjourn the House, and he refused to put the question. Hereupon Denzil Holles and Valentine held the Speaker in his chair, while Eliot read his resolutions declaring that whoever brought in innovations in religion; whoever advised levying of tonnage and poundage without a grant by Parliament; and whoever voluntarily paid those duties—was an enemy of the

(1) Guizot, 31.

kingdom. Holles put these resolutions to the House, and they were accepted. On the 5th of March, Sir John Eliot and eight other members of the House of Commons were sent to the Tower, and on March 10th, Parliament was dissolved.

This outline of the first three Parliaments of King Charles' reign has been given, in order to make clear the two great conflicting principles of the times—in politics, the sovereignty of the King or of the people ; in religion, the authority of the Church or the private judgment of the individual. King Charles stood always, from first to last, for the sovereignty of the Crown and the authority of the Church of England ; the Commons moved rapidly, following the order of most revolutions, from a moderate constitutional and loyal position to a military despotism such as England had never known before, and to an ecclesiastical anarchy, which was subversive of all true religion. It has been customary to read the history of Charles I. and his Parliaments in the light of modern democracy ; but it is needless to say that this method can no more illuminate the period, of which we are writing, than it can do justice to the memory of the chief protagonists in the struggle.

King Charles had been taught from childhood the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings ; he had been anointed and crowned and enthroned in that Kingship which he had inherited by birth ; it was his conscientious belief that he, as Sovereign, was not only the head and the guardian of his kingdoms, but that he represented them and his people. Their honour, their power, their prosperity were his own. It was his own consciousness of rectitude of purpose that stiffened him in his contention to maintain all those prerogatives of his Crown, which he believed to be necessary if he was to protect the welfare and to

promote the prosperity of his subjects. He had no intention, as he declared in more than one proclamation, of disregarding the laws of England ; but he held the conviction that there were occasions, especially in times of foreign war, when the government must be trusted with unwonted powers for the good of the State. In the seventeenth century, Parliament and particularly the House of Commons, held by no means the position of power in the Constitution of England, which it exercises to-day. King James had told his Parliament not to meddle in the mysteries of affairs of State. It is certain that King Charles shared his father's view, that the Parliament was to be the subservient instrument in supplying him with the necessary means of carrying out, but without interfering in any manner with, the policy of the Crown. It was of his royal condescension that he addressed his first Parliament, asking for subsidies for the war with Spain, and it was a rude shock both to his prerogative and his pride, when the Commons granted only an insufficient supply, and limited to one year the collection of tonnage and poundage, which had seemed to be the prescriptive right of ten sovereigns of England, his predecessors, during a period of nearly two hundred years. If the King's levying tonnage and poundage without vote of Parliament, and even his forced loans, can be excused to him on the ground of public and temporary necessity, it is difficult to justify the imprisonment of members of Parliament when the Houses were sitting, the pressing and billeting of soldiers and sailors, the imprisonment for the non-payment of the loans ; and the refusal of the full meaning of *habeas corpus*. These actions, it is true, were invasions, not only of the privileges of Parliament, but also of the personal liberty of the subject. Nor can all the blame of the

unfortunate policy of the first four years of King Charles' reign be thrown altogether upon the Duke of Buckingham. It is a coincidence that in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, three young Princes were seated upon three of the chief Thrones of Europe, and that all three had resigned in a measure the government of their respective kingdoms to three great ministers of State ; but while this may be true in the case of Louis XIII. and Philip IV., who were overshadowed by the towering figures of Richelieu and Olivarez, it could not be said of King Charles and Buckingham, for Charles was a man of higher principle and stronger intellect than his contemporaries, and the Duke, while he might direct the policy, possessed not the genius to control the conscience, of his master. If the King allowed Buckingham to lead him into wars, for which he was ill-prepared, or to treat his Parliament or individual Englishmen with a disregard for personal liberty or corporate privilege, the responsibility rests at last upon the King alone.

On the other hand, the Commons might well have shown confidence enough in their young Prince, upon his accession, to grant him the subsidies which he required for the Spanish war—a war which he had inherited from the previous reign and for which the people of England had clamoured the year before —and to renew to him the time-honoured custom of tonnage and poundage. In the matter of religion, delicacy of feeling on the part of the leaders of the Commons, might have postponed, at least until the conclusion of the marriage festivities of their King and Queen, the demand for the stricter observance of the laws against Romanists in England. And when Parliament attacked the Bishops and clergy of the English Church on the ground of innovations in

religion, or of loyalty to the royal prerogative, it was touching the King in a matter of conscience, and it called forth from him acts of magnanimous favour which assured the persons assailed of their sovereign's support and protection.

The Commons complained that the King kept bad faith with them after he had assented to the Petition of Right. "In all probability the King had not really understood that tonnage and poundage were included; in the bill itself the word 'imposition,' which would have been the natural one to use for such a tax, had been omitted, and it is almost impossible not to regard this claim on the part of the Commons as an attempt to force on the King indirectly a new limitation of his power."[1] The fact that the King had appended to the printed copies of the Petition both his original answer and the French formula of assent, seems to indicate that it was his intention to show that their meaning was the same, though the expressions were different.

The truth is, the Puritan revolution was begun. It was England's part in the wars of religion, which were sweeping over Europe. And the Puritans of England had the good luck to link their cause with that of the liberty of the people. It was a struggle for sovereignty between King and Parliament, the Church and individualism. Sir Thomas Wentworth with the vision of a great statesman, soon distinguished the true nature of the conflict, and believing the principles of both royal and ecclesiastical authority to be at stake, he brought his great powers to the service of his King.

(1) J. F. Bright, "History of England," ii., 624. *et sequent.*

CHAPTER V.

THE KING AND THE CHURCH.

1625—1629.

State of the Church—Religious parties—Eminent clergy and laity—The King's personal religion—His care of the Church—Preferments—Dr. Montague—The King's declaration on controversial preaching—Temporalities—Bishop Goodman—Impropriations—Bishop Laud—Dr. Sibthorpe—Archbishop Abbot—Dr. Mainwaring—Laud and Buckingham—Greek MSS.—Birth and death of the Queen's first child.

Although passing mention has been made of the state of religion in England during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, it is time now to dwell more in detail upon King Charles' personal relations with the Church of England. At the time of the King's accession, the vast majority of the people of both England and Wales belonged to the national Church. Parents brought their children, as a matter of course, to be baptised in the parish Church, where, Sunday after Sunday, and often on holy-days and weekdays, entire families were accustomed to attend the services and to recite the catechism.

On the great festivals, and oftener, the parishioners received Holy Communion. The rubrick ordering notice of intention to receive the Holy Communion seems to have been observed widely. In the Churchwardens' accounts of St. Edmund's, Salisbury, it was ordered on December 28th, 1626, "that every person, that shall receive the Communion, shall, on

some day of the week before the Communion Day, give notice to the clerk of their purpose to receive, and the clerk shall deliver out a token for every person that will receive, and, towards the defraying the charge of bread and wine, every person at the time of their receiving shall pay one halfpenny to the Churchwardens for the same, and then deliver back their tokens to the Churchwardens."[1] At intervals, in the Cathedrals and larger parish Churches, the Bishops held their visitations and administered Confirmation. In their parish Churches, men and women were married, and in their parish Churchyards they were buried. Nor was the discipline of the Church neglected. Confessions were heard by many of the clergy, and absolution was given or withheld. And not infrequently gross offenders were punished by publick penances and excommunication. Bishop Laud was confessor to the Duke of Buckingham, Bishop Williams to the Duchess. Bishop Laud, Bishop Sheldon and, afterwards, Bishop Juxon confessed the King.

At first, both Catholic Churchmen and Puritans worshipped together and remained in the same communion ; but, even before the death of King James, as the Church began to recover from the blows of the Reformation, to regain strength, and to renew her Catholic life, the Puritans themselves, became more pronounced in their Protestantism and gradually withdrew from the worship of their fathers, forming for themselves conventicles, where they might preach and pray, as each saw fit in his own eyes. During the first fifteen years of King Charles' reign, the Puritans were forming a religious party in direct opposition to the teaching and practice of the Church, and, as time was to show, in bitter an-

(1) Hutton, 104.

tagonism to the Crown. Those who differed from the predestinarian theories of Calvin, which the Puritans had made their own, they designated as Arminians, and it was with this name that they were accustomed to brand all the High Churchmen of the English Church, who opposed them. "Predestinarianism is the root of all Puritanism, and Puritanism, the root of all rebellion and disobedient intractableness."[1] The papal party in England was small in number, but not insignificant in influence, for it was composed chiefly of certain of the nobility and gentry who had refused to accept the Act of Uniformity of Queen Elizabeth, and to take the oath of allegiance to the sovereign. The life and activity of this party were promoted, and endangered, by the succession of Jesuits and Seminary priests who poured into England, and, who, not content with ministering to their co-religionists, were unceasing in their efforts to unsettle the faith of Anglicans, and to employ all means in their power not only to win toleration for themselves, but also to establish more widely the Church of Rome in the British dominions. The marriage of King Charles with a Roman Catholic Princess, and the negotiations incident thereto with regard to toleration, naturally raised the hopes of this party to a high pitch, and excited at the same time the fears and the indignation of both Puritans and members of the Church of England.

Certain great names stand out pre-eminently in the ranks of the English clergy at this period. First of all, it is natural to mention Lancelot Andrewes (1555—1626) successively Dean of Westminster, Bishop of Chichester, Ely and Winchester, Lord High Almoner, and Dean of the Chapel Royal, whom Laud called "*lumen orbis Christiani*," and of whom

(1) Quoted by Hutton, 35.

Fuller wrote, "The world wanted learning to know how learned this man was; so skilled in all (especially Oriental) languages, that some conceive he might, if then living, almost have served as an interpreter general at the confusion of tongues. Nor are the fathers more faithfully cited in his books, than lively copied out in his countenance and carriage; his gravity in a manner awing King James, who refrained from that mirth and liberty in the presence of this prelate, which otherwise he assumed to himself."[1] John Donne (1573—1631) Dean of St. Paul's, who, according to Izaak Walton's description[2] "preached the word so as to show that his own heart was possessed with those very thoughts and joys that he laboured to distil into others; a preacher in earnest, weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them; always preaching to himself, like an angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying some, as St. Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others, by a sacred art and courtship, to amend their lives; here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those who practised it, and a virtue so as to make it beloved even by those who loved it not; and all this with a most particular grace and an inexpressible addition of comeliness." George Herbert (1593—1633), scholar, poet, courtier, parish priest, and saint, Prebendary of Layton Ecclesia in Huntingdonshire, presented by King Charles in 1630 to the living of Fugglestone with Bemerton, near Salisbury, where he set forth with a holy simplicity the true life of "a priest to the temple";[3] Nicholas Ferrar (1592—1637), who organized a small religious community chiefly from among the members of his own family, at his own manor house of Little Gidding,

(1) Fuller, iii., 348.
(2) Izaak Walton, "Lives," 42.
(3) Hutton, 112.

in Huntingdonshire, where, ordained a deacon by Bishop Laud in 1626, he lived an austere, almost monastic life of study and good works ; Sir Henry Wotton (1568—1639), " a famous ambassador and wit, poet, scholar, and diplomatist, he came to end 'the errors of his wandering life' at Eton as its Provost, and a humble minister in the Church of Christ."[1] " The ever memorable " John Hales (1584—1656), scholar, Fellow of Eton, made Chaplain to Archbishop Laud in 1639, and appointed by King Charles a Canon of Windsor. The most commanding figure among the clergy was that of William Laud (1573—1645), who had been President of St. John's College, Oxford, and was made successively Bishop of St. David's, Bath and Wells, London, and Archbishop of Canterbury, and who, upon the death of the Duke of Buckingham, became King Charles' " most trusted adviser." Associated with Laud were such men as Richard Neile (1562—1640), whose chaplain Laud had been, and who passed through the Bishoprics of Rochester, Lichfield, Lincoln, Durham, Winchester to the Archiepiscopal See of York ; William Juxon (1582—1663), a name never to be forgotten in the history of King Charles I., who succeeded Laud as President of St. John's College, Oxford, was appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles, in 1627, Dean of Worcester, and in 1633, Bishop of London, in succession to Bishop Laud ; Jeremy Taylor (1613—1667), the author of " Holy Living " and " Holy Dying," whose eloquent and voluminous writings have given him a place in English literature, became Chaplain to Archbishop Laud, and Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles ; Gilbert Sheldon (1598—1677), Warden of All Souls' College, Oxford, Prebendary of Gloucester, whose

(1) Hutton, 115.

name is perpetuated in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, which he built and endowed at his own expense. Learning was represented, where all were learned, by James Ussher (1581—1656), Chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, Bishop of Meath in 1621, and Archbishop of Armagh in 1625, whom even Presbyterians were ready to declare "the most revered and learned father of our Church;"[1] John Bramhall (1593—1677), Archdeacon of Meath, Bishop of Londonderry; John Cosin (1594—1672), Prebendary of Durham in 1624, Archdeacon of the East Riding of Yorkshire in 1625, published in 1627 his "Collection of Private Devotions," a manual stated to have been prepared by command of King Charles, for the use of the Queen's maids of honour; in 1634, Cosin was appointed Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and, in 1640, Vice-Chancellor of the University, and Dean of Peterborough; John Pearson (1612—1686), Prebend of Salisbury, best known in later years for his celebrated "Exposition of the Creed"; Henry Hammond (1605—1660), Rector of Penshurst in Kent, whom King Charles pronounced the most natural orator he had ever heard; Richard Montague (1577—1641), whose staunch defence of the Church of England as a true part of the Catholic Church brought him into collision with both the Papists and the Puritan Parliament, was consecrated Bishop of Chichester in 1628, translated to Norwich in 1638; Robert Sanderson (1587—1663), Clerk of the Convocation for the Diocese of Lincoln in the first Parliament of King Charles I., known afterwards as the great casuist of the English Church, and Bishop of Lincoln, was appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to the King in 1631; Brian Duppa (1589—1662), Dean of Christ Church, Chaplain to King Charles,

(1) Hutton, 171.

Tutor to the Prince of Wales, Bishop of Salisbury, afterwards of Winchester ; Theophilus Feild, Bishop of Llandaff, 1619, of St. David's, 1627, and of Hereford, 1635 ; Matthew Wren (1585—1667), Chaplain to Prince Charles, whom he attended in Spain, Judge in the Star Chamber, attended King Charles in Scotland, successively Bishop of Hereford, Norwich and Ely, impeached by the Commons and imprisoned in the Tower in 1641, released in 1659 ; George Morley (1597—1684), Chaplain to King Charles ; Dr. Peter Gunning ; Dr. Richard Busby (1606—1695), Headmaster of Westminster School ; Dr. Isaac Basire (1607—1676), Chaplain Extraordinary to King Charles, Archdeacon of Northumberland, one of the earliest of the English clergy to establish friendly relations with the Holy Orthodox Church of the East ; William Chillingworth (1602—1644), Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, Chancellor of Salisbury, the friend of Falkland, and like him a victim of the Civil War.

Men of a different type were Joseph Hall (1574—1656), Dean of Worcester, Bishop of Exeter in 1627, and of Norwich in 1641, of whom Fuller says, " He was commonly called our English Seneca, for the pureness, plainness, and fullness of his style. Not unhappy at *Controversies*, more happy at *Comments*, very good in his *Characters*, better in his *Sermons*, best of all in his *Meditations* " ; George Abbot (1562—1633), Archbishop of Canterbury, who was disposed to sympathize with the Puritans ; John Williams (1582—1650), Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of Westminster, who combined the characters of statesman and ecclesiastic. To say of the English clergy in the time of Charles I. " *Clerus Anglicanus stupor mundi*," is to repeat a commonplace.

Among the laity of the Church there were such

devout and saintly persons as the Lady Magdalen Herbert, George Herbert's mother ; Lucius Carey, Viscount Falkland, and Lettice, his wife ; the Sidneys of Penshurst ; the Ferrar and Colet families of Little Gidding ; Izaak Walton, whose "Lives" contain such lovely pictures of the Church life of his time ; the Earl and Countess of Carberry, to whom Jeremy Taylor dedicated his "Golden Grove" ; the young Earl and Countess of Sunderland ; the Lord and Lady Capel ; Lady Jane Cheyne daughter of the Marquess of Newcastle ; Anna, Lady Halket, whose father, Robert Murray, had been one of the preceptors of King Charles I., and whose mother had been sub-governess to Henry, Duke of Gloucester, and who herself assisted the Duke of York to escape from St. James' ; Charlotte, Countess of Derby, the defender of Lathom House ; Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery ; Alice, Duchess of Dudley ; Grace, wife of Sir Bevil Grenville ; Dorothy, daughter of the Lord Keeper Coventry, married to Sir John Pakington, the friend of Drs. Hammond and Hickes ; John Evelyn, the Diarist, and his wife. Our list may well be concluded with the names of such staunch and loyal Churchmen as Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and Sir Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. It must be noticed that these men and women, bearing active part in the public and court life of their day, were intelligent and devoted members of the Church of England. It is interesting to compare the spiritual and devout life of England with that of France at the same period. There is the same interest in holy things, the same piety, the same cultivated understanding among people of affairs. It was the age of St. Francis de Sales, of St. Jane Frances de Chantal, and of St. Vincent de Paul.

It is not difficult to imagine with what feelings of thankfulness and enthusiastic loyalty both the clergy and the laity of the English Church hailed the accession of such a Prince as King Charles. They saw in him a nursing father of the Church, following in the line of those pious Kings and royal benefactors—Robert II., and Louis IX. (St. Louis) of France ; David I. of Scotland, and Alfred the Great, St. Edward the Confessor, Henry III., and Henry VI. of England.

For King Charles himself had been trained in the doctrine and discipline of the English Church. He brought with him to the throne, not only a passionate love for the Church in which he had been brought up, but a clear and convinced understanding of the position in Christendom of the Church of England, Catholic, but neither Roman nor Protestant. He knew well that the Church, if she were to flourish, must be steered carefully between the two great dangers that assailed her, the Scylla and Charybdis of Rome and Puritanism, and from the moment of his Coronation Oath, it became a matter of conscience with the King to defend, and to promote, the well-being of the Church with all his power. This principle he never yielded, and it was for the life of the Church of England that he died. " Sir Henry Wotton wrote, in 1633, a panegyric of his master, which happily expresses what Churchmen thought and courtiers knew about their young King eight years before,"[1] " When you had assumed the crown, before all other things there was resplendent in you a religious mind, the support of kingdoms, the joy of good men. The Chapel Royal was never more in order. The number of eminent Divines daily increased. Sermons in no age more frequented ; in none more learned ; and the example of the Prince

(1) Hutton, 3, 4.

more effectual than sermons. No execrations rashly proceeded from your mouth ; your ears abhorring not only any wanton, but even the least sordid word."[1] With this it is interesting to compare the estimate of Lord Clarendon, written many years later : " The King was always the most punctual observer of all decency in his devotion, and the strictest promoter of the ceremonies of the Church, as believing in his soul the Church of England to be instituted nearest to the practice of the Apostles, and the best for the propagation and advancement of the Christian religion, of any church in the world ; and on the other side, though no man was more averse from the Romish Church than he was, nor better understood the motives of their separation from us, and animosity against us, he had the highest dislike and prejudice to that part of his own subjects, who were against the government established, and did always look upon them as a very dangerous and seditious people ; who would, under pretence of conscience, which kept them from submitting to the spiritual jurisdiction, take the first opportunity they could find, or make, to disturb and withdraw themselves from their temporal subjection ; and therefore he had, with the utmost vigilance caused that temper and disposition to be watched and provided against in England, and if it were in truth there, it lurked with wonderful secrecy."[2]

" Such Charles appeared to be to his friends. Difficulties were to disclose weaknesses in his character, adversities to develop its genuine piety. But from first to last the King remained a devoted son of the Church."[3] He entered upon his reign in the fear of God.

(1) Ibid.
(2) Clarendon, " History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars," Bk. I., p. 134.
(3) Hutton, 4.

Upon the death of King James, the new King, Charles I., remained for a week shut up in St. James's Palace, no one but the Duke of Buckingham, his Gentleman of the Bedchamber, being admitted to speak with him. On the 2nd of April, 1625, Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, received a command to preach in the afternoon, Sunday, April 3rd. Having listened to the sermon with an air "very attentive and devout," the new King walked across St. James's Park, and took up his work at Whitehall. The pallor of his face and his inscrutable solemnity greatly impressed his subjects; and though he was only twenty-five years old, he preserved the dignity and gravity of age. The King's commendation of the sermon of April 3rd, was promptly conveyed to the preacher, together with a command that it should be published, as it was immediately, under the title of *The First Sermon preached to King Charles.*

At the same time the King requested Bishop Laud, through the Duke of Buckingham, to prepare a list of the most eminent divines, that he might from them select his chaplains and those whom he should consider worthy of promotion. Laud drew up the list, on April 5th, "exhibited" it to Buckingham, who presented it to the King. Each name was marked with the letter O. or P., representing Orthodox or Puritan. "It was not likely that the King would promote any of the clergy who held Puritanical views. He would clearly give his favour to the Orthodox."[1]

"As for new-elected Bishops," says Fuller, "His Majesty was most careful to choose them out of the most sound judgment, and blameless for conversation."

On April 9, Bishop Laud received a royal "command to go to the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Winchester

(1) Hutton, 8.

(Lancelot Andrewes), and learn from him what he would have done in the cause of the Church, and bring back his answer, especially in the matter of the Five Articles."[1] On the 10th, Bishop Laud obtained the answer of Bishop Andrewes, and on the 13th he brought it to the Duke of Buckingham for the King. On that day also the Duke made known to Laud what the King had determined concerning his Clerk of the Closet, during the illness of the Bishop of Durham, and on the 17th Bishop Laud was appointed to wait upon His Majesty in the quality of deputy Clerk of the Closet, or Confessor, till the 1st of May. On June 24th, "The King commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury, with six other Bishops, whom he then named, to advise together concerning a public fast, and a form of prayer, to implore the Divine mercy, now that the pestilence began to spread, and the extraordinary wet weather threatened a famine; and also to beg the Divine blessing upon the fleet now ready to put to sea."[2] The first statute of the King's first Parliament was for the stricter observance of the Lord's Day.

On July 7th, 1625, Dr. Richard Montague, Rector of Stanford Rivers in Essex, Fellow of Eton, and Canon of Windsor, was brought into the Lower House of Parliament, to receive sentence, not directly for his Catholic vindication of the Church of England, which was the real cause of Puritan antagonism against him, but for his appeal to King James from the previous censure of the Commons. Montague was committed to the custody of the Serjeant-at-arms, and required to find bail of £2,000 for his appearance next session. The King appointed Montague his Chaplain, and released him from

(1) The Five Articles of Perth, *vide* Chap. ii., 12.
(2) Laud's Diary.

prison, intimating on July 9th, to the House of Commons that what had been there said and resolved, without consulting him, in Montague's cause, was not pleasing to him. "There was much magnanimity," says Heylin, "in preferring the man, whom he beheld as well in his personal sufferings, as in his great abilities, yet was it not held safe for the King, as his case then stood, to give such matter of exasperation to the House of Commons." In January, 1625—1626, during the preparations for the King's Coronation, "by the King's command, a conference was held, what was to be done in the cause of Richard Montague. There were present the Bishops of London (Montaigne), Durham (Neile), Winchester (Andrewes), Rochester (Buckeridge), and St. David's (Laud). On Tuesday, January 17th, the Bishops gave in their answer to the King in the following words: "We have met and considered, and for our particulars, do think that Mr. Montague, in his book, hath not affirmed anything to be the doctrine of the Church of England but that which in our opinion is the doctrine of the Church of England, or agreeable thereunto. And for the preservation of the peace of the Church we in humility do conceive that His Majesty shall do most graciously to prohibit all parties, members of the Church of England, any further controverting of these questions by public preaching or writing, or any other way, for the disturbance of the peace of this Church for the time to come." On June 16th, following, the King's proclamation was issued to enforce silence on controverted points. "Charles, with real delicacy of insight, looked beyond the petty disputes to larger and more statesmanlike issues for the Church. At his back stood a man of clear vision and determined will, who would not palter with his conscience.

Unity was the passion of their lives, and for nothing was the age, in England or abroad, less prepared. The King's declaration, and many a wise saying of wise men, fell on empty ears." [1]

With reference to the temporalities of the Church, it is interesting to note, thus early in the reign, that King Charles in 1625 proposed to restore Church lands in Scotland. An old Hall in Oxford, hitherto known as Broadgates, where Bonner, Bishop of London, had been educated, was at this time turned into a College, and called Pembroke, after the Earl of Pembroke, then Chancellor of the University. King Charles was the chief benefactor, who gave the patronage of St. Aldate's, the Church adjoining. The King gave to Winchester Cathedral the statutes, by which it is still governed. At the west end of the great nave of this Church stand statues of King James I. and King Charles I., in memory of their attachment to the Cathedral.

"On January 18, 1625, by the King's command, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Rochester and St. David's, consulted together concerning a Form of Prayer, to give thanks for the decrease of the plague. On February 26, the First Sunday in Lent, in the evening, Bishop Laud presented to his Majesty King Charles his sermon, which he had preached at the opening of Parliament, being now printed by his Majesty's command. February 27, Monday, the danger which happened to King Charles from his horse; which having broken the two girts of the saddle, and the saddle together with the rider fallen under his belly, stood trembling, until the King, having received no hurt, etc." [2] "April 12, Wednes-

(1) Hutton, p. 21.
(2) Laud's Diary.

day, at 9 in the forenoon, we met together, viz., the Archbishop of Canterbury (George Abbot), the Bishops of Winchester (Lancelot Andrewes), Durham (Richard Neile), and St. David's (Laud) ; being commanded by the King to consult together concerning the sermon, which Dr. Goodman, the Bishop of Gloucester, had preached before His Majesty on the Fifth Sunday in Lent last past. We advised together and gave this answer to the King : That some things were therein spoken less cautiously, but nothing falsely : that nothing was innovated by him in the doctrine of the Church of England. That the best way would be that the Bishop should preach the sermon again, at some time to be chosen by himself, and should then show how and wherein he was misunderstood by his auditors."[1] "That night, after 9 o'clock," says Laud, "I gave to the King an account of what I had received in command on the 5th of April, and of other things relating thereto. Among the rest, concerning impropriations.[2] The King spoke many things very graciously therein, after I had first discoursed of the manner of effecting it."[1] On Sunday, April 22," The King sent for all the Bishops to come to him at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. We waited upon him, 14 in number. Then His Majesty chid us, that in this time of Parliament we were silent in the cause of the Church, and did not make known to him what might be useful, or was prejudicial, to the Church, professing himself ready to promote the cause of the Church. He then commanded us, that in the causes of the Earl of Bristol and Duke of Buckingham we should follow the directions of our own consciences, being led by

(1) Laud's Diary.

(2) That is, the act of putting ecclesiastical benefices into the hands of lay corporations, attempted at this time by the Puritans.

proofs, not by reports. Sunday, April 30, I preached before the King at Whitehall." [1] On Thursday, May 4, "Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, died at London." [1] On Tuesday, June 20th, His Majesty King Charles named Laud, then Bishop of St. David's, to the vacant Bishoprick of Bath and Wells. "And at the same time commanded me to prepare a sermon for the Public Fast, which he had by proclamation appointed to be kept on the 5th of July following. July 5. A solemn fast appointed, partly upon account of the pestilence yet raging in many parts of the kingdom, partly on account of the danger of enemies threatening us. I preached this day before the King and Nobility at Whitehall. It was Wednesday. July 8. The King commanded me to print and publish the sermon. It was Saturday. July 16, Sunday, I presented that sermon, which was now printed, to His Majesty, and returned. Wednesday, July 26. The King signed the *Congé d' élire*, empowering the Dean and Chapter to elect me Bishop of Bath and Wells." [1] "Aug. 16. I was elected Bishop of Bath and Wells." [1] The King gave him a dispensation to hold his stall at Westminster *in commendam*, that he might have a residence in London. Monday, Sept. 18, "My election to the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells was confirmed. Tuesday, Sept. 19, At Theobalds I swore homage to His Majesty; who there presently restored to me the temporalities, from the death of my predecessor." [1] Sept. 25, Monday. "About four o'clock in the morning, died Lancelot Andrewes, the most worthy Bishop of Winchester, the great light of the Christian world. Sept. 30, Saturday. The Duke of Buckingham signified to me the King's resolution, that I should succeed the Bishop of Winchester in the office of

(1) Laud's Diary.

Dean of the Chapel Royal. Oct. 2, Monday. The Duke related to me what the King had further resolved concerning me, in case the Archbishop of Canterbury should die. Oct. 3, Tuesday. I went to Court, which was then at Hampton Court. There I returned thanks to the King for the Deanery of the Chapel, then granted to me. Nov. 14, or thereabout, taking occasion from the abrupt both beginning and ending of public prayer on the 5th of November, I desired His Majesty King Charles, that he would please to be present at prayers as well as sermon every Sunday, and that at whatsoever part of the prayers he came, the Priest then officiating might proceed to the end of the Prayers. The most religious King not only assented to this request, but also gave me thanks. This had not before been done from the beginning of King James' reign to this day. Now, thanks be to God, it obtaineth." "1627, Jan. 17, Wednesday, I show my reasons to the King, why the papers of the late Bishop of Winchester (Andrewes), concerning Bishops, that they are *jure divino*, should be printed ; contrary to what the Bishop of Lincoln (Williams) had pitifully, and to the great detriment of the Church of England, signified to the King, as the King had himself before related to me." " Feb. 22, Thursday. I began my journey towards New Market, where the King then was." " March 6, Tuesday, the King returned from New Market, and I with him, toward London." " Mar. 12, Monday, I went with the King to Theobalds." On April 1, 1627, Donne was appointed to preach before the King at Whitehall, and Laud was among the auditors. It appears that Archbishop Abbot had just preached a sermon of a very Low Church character, which had offended the King, and that the King and Bishop Laud, after listening to Donne's sermon, had come to the

conclusion that the Dean of St. Paul's was preparing to support the Archbishop. This will explain Bishop Laud's next entry. "April 4, Wednesday. When His Majesty King Charles forgave to Doctor Donne certain slips in a sermon preached on Sunday, April 1. And what he then most graciously said unto me, I have wrote in my heart with indelible characters, and great thankfulness to God and the King."

Mention was made in the previous chapter of Dr. Sibthorpe's sermon advocating the imposition of taxes by the King independently of the sanction of Parliament, and urging "passive obedience" upon the subjects. Upon being applied to license the publication of this sermon, Archbishop Abbot declined to do so, on the ground that it contained many statements contrary to the law of the realm. The objections were referred to Laud, who with the aid of other Bishops, revised the sermon. Abbot again refused his approval, and the sermon was at last licensed by Montaigne, Bishop of London. Abbot ascribed, and no doubt rightly, his sequestration, which took place shortly afterwards, to this refusal.

On "April 29, Sunday," writed Bishop Laud, "I was made a Privy Councillour to His Majesty King Charles. God grant it may conduce to his honour, and to the good of the kingdom and the Church. May 13, Whitsunday, I preached before the King. June 7 and 8, I attended King Charles from London to Southwick by Portsmouth.

"June 11. His Majesty dined aboard the *Triumph*, where I attended him.

"June 17. The Bishoprick of London was granted me at Southwick [in succession to Dr. Montaigne, translated to York upon the death of Archbishop Tobias Matthews, a survivor of the bench of

Bishops of Queen Elizabeth's reign, whose wife was the daughter of Bishop Barlow].

"June 22. We came to London.

"June 24. I was commanded to go all the progress.

"June 30. The progress began at Oatlands.

"July 4. The King lost a jewel in hunting of a £1,000 value. That day the message was sent by the King for the sequestering of the Archbishop of Canterbury." Lord Conway was directed to bear a message from the King to Abbot, to the effect that he should retire to Canterbury. The Archbishop protested because of his disagreement with the citizens. He was required to reside within his diocese, and he regarded this as a disgrace. He was clearly in opposition to the King's political views, and he was strongly hostile to the High Church party led by Bishop Laud.

It was during this July that Dr. Roger Mainwaring, Vicar of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, preached before the King the two sermons, entitled "Religion and Allegiance," on Eccles. viii. 2, the one at Oatlands, the other at Alderton ; in which he strongly asserted the duty of subjects to pay taxes demanded by Kings on special occasions, "if upon necessity extreme and urgent," declaring that if the demand were not excessive, it would be very hard for a subject "to defend his conscience from that heavy prejudice of resisting the ordinance of God, and receiving to himself damnation," if he refused it.[1]

On July 26, "I attended the King and Queen at Wellingborough," where they were staying for the benefit of the chalybeate spring at Redwell. In

(1) To both Drs. Montague and Mainwaring the King granted a full pardon over the censures of Parliament, and when Montague was consecrated to the Bishoprick of Chichester, Mainwaring was appointed by the King as his successor in the living of Stanford Rivers.

October, 1627, "The Commission to the Bishops of London (Montaigne), Durham (Neile), Rochester (Buckeridge), Oxford (Howson), and myself (then Bath and Wells), to execute the archiepiscopal jurisdiction, during the sequestration of my Lord's Grace of Canterbury."[1]

It had been told Bishop Laud that there must be another Parliament; that some must be sacrificed; that he was as like as any to meet that fate. Apparently, the Bishop repeated the report to the King, whose reply is thus given: "Let me desire you not to trouble yourself with any reports, till you see me forsake my other friends. *Ita Carolus Rex.*" [1]

On Christmas Day, 1627, Bishop Laud preached before the King at Whitehall. On February 5, he went with his Majesty to Hampton Court. "1629, January 26, Monday. The 240 Greek MSS. were sent to London House. These I got my Lord of Pembroke to buy and give to Oxford.

"February 6, Friday. Sir Thomas Roe [who had been British Ambassador at Constantinople] sent to London House twenty-eight MSS. in Greek, to have a catalogue drawn, and the books to be for Oxford." It was to this same Sir Thomas Roe that the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cærulius, presented as a gift to King Charles I. the celebrated Alexandrine MS. which is now to be seen in the British Museum. "1629, May 13, Wednesday. This morning, about three of the clock, the Queen was delivered before her time of a son. He was christened, and died within short space, his name Charles. This was Ascension Eve, May 14. The next day being Ascension Day, *paulo ante mediam noctem*, I buried him at Westminster. If God repair not this loss, I much fear it was Descension Day to this State." So

Tobia.

(1) Laud's Diary.

Bishop Laud. Fuller gives the account a little more in detail. "Queen Mary, surprised with some fright (as is generally believed) antedated the time of her travail by some weeks, and on Wednesday, May 13, was delivered of a son. But a greater acceleration was endeavoured in his baptism, than what happened at his birth—such the forwardness of the popish priests to snatch him from the hands of those as [who] dressed him, had not the care of King Charles prevented them, assigning Dr. Webb (then waiting his month) to christen him. He died about an hour after; the King very patiently bearing the loss, as receiving the first-fruits of some of his subjects' estates, and as willingly paying those of his own body to the King of heaven. The University of Oxford (Cambridge being then heavily infected with the plague) at once in their verses congratulated the safe birth, and condoled the short life, of this Prince; and a tetrastich, made by one of Christ-Church, (thus making his address to the Queen), I must not omit :—

Quod Lucina tuos semel est frustrata labores,
Nec fortunantes præbuit illa manus,
Ignoscas, regina; uno molimine ventris,
Non potuit princeps ad tria regia dari.

This Prince the next day after was buried by Bishop Laud in the Chapel at Westminster." [1]

(1) Fuller, iii., 360, 361.

CHAPTER VI.

PERSONAL RULE.

1629—1640.

The King and Queen—Birth of Charles, Prince of Wales—Government without Parliament—Peace with France and Spain—Development of trade—The King's Councillors—The Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission—Case of Sir Robert Howard and Lady Purbeck—Of Alexander Leighton—Of William Prynne—The revenue—ship-money—Wentworth, Lord Deputy of Ireland—Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury—Policy of "Thorough"—Laud's Diary—Revival of Church Life—Restoration of Churches—The King and the Community of Little Gidding—Literature—Art—The Court—The royal family.

We come now to speak of the brightest period of the reign of King Charles I. The King himself, now in his thirtieth year, was entering in the prime of life upon the full development of all his powers of mind and body. The early misunderstandings between himself and his Queen, which had been caused by differences of temperament as well as of religious belief, had been happily adjusted. The death of the Duke of Buckingham had removed a possible hindrance to the fullest confidence between the royal couple, and the death of their first child, and now the birth of Charles, Prince of Wales, on May 29th, 1630, cemented their union with the most devoted and loyal affection of both husband and wife.

From the dissolution of King Charles' third Parliament, March 10th, 1629, until the opening of the short Parliament in April, 1640, England was

From a painting by Sir Anthony Van Dyck in the Dresden Gallery.

KING CHARLES I.

[*To face page* 118

ruled by the King with his Privy Council alone, and, apart from any constitutional question, it must be admitted that this personal government was capable and good. A method, which would have courted disaster in the hands of an unprincipled, weak or inefficient Prince, succeeded beyond expectation, when employed by a conscientious and intelligent King, who kept constantly before him the honour and welfare of the kingdoms committed to his charge. To rule without a Parliament was at that time no monstrous crime. There had been long periods without Parliaments in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James I., the immediate predecessors of King Charles. Parliaments in Spain in the middle of the seventeenth century had entirely disappeared. The States General in France had not met since 1614, and did not meet again until the momentous occasion of 1789. The Diet in Germany was no more than a diplomatic council. It is hardly to be wondered at that, after the opposition of the first three Parliaments of his reign, King Charles should now determine to do without them. It was the determination of a strong man, conscious of his own integrity, anxious to carry out a generous policy for his dominions, and impatient of the contradiction and interference with his plans by those who differed from him in ideas of government and religion.

The chief aim of the King in foreign affairs was to recover the Palatinate for his sister and her husband. Warlike measures had failed. The King lacked money to carry on the war. Accordingly, in April, 1630, he made peace with France, and, in November of the same year, with Spain also. Negotiations were opened with Spain in the hope of recovering the dominions of the Elector Palatine, but they came to nothing.

But England was at peace, and peace had been needed for the sake of the development of the trade and the agriculture of the country. There was a general increase of prosperity. Manufactures and industrial enterprise at home were fostered. Owing to the strain of the war on the continent of Europe, the carrying trade between Spain and its foreign possessions and dependencies passed into English hands. The English fleet was brought to a high state of efficiency, and appeared in the channel claiming the sovereignty of the seas. The King's ships were manned with sailors, experienced in the management of ships of war, and it is from this fleet of King Charles I. that the separation of the naval and mercantile marine is to be dated. Selden's "*Mare Clausum*" was published by order of the King, at this time.

To this period of King Charles' reign belongs the renewal of colonisation across the seas. The Virginia and Massachusetts Bay plantations were growing. In 1632, George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, was about to receive the charter of Maryland, named in honour of the Queen, when he died. His eldest son, Cecil, succeeded him as second Lord Baltimore, carried on the work, and founded the colony, to which the second son, Leonard Calvert, went out as governor. In 1639, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, was on the point of embarking for the colonisation of the island of Madagascar. The King looked with favour and interest upon the expedition and placed one of his own ships of war at the service of the adventurers ; but for some unexplained reason the scheme was abandoned.

The King's chief advisers were Thomas Wentworth, Lord President of the Council of the North ; William Laud, Bishop of London ; Thomas Coventry,

Lord Keeper ; Richard Weston, Lord Treasurer ; and William Noy, Attorney-General. But the ability of Wentworth and Laud soon made them the dominating members of the Privy Council.

Two famous Courts, which King Charles had inherited from his predecessors, were used largely during these years to put down any opposition to the King's government, and to enforce obedience to the moral law and to the standards of the Church of England in matters of faith, discipline and worship. The one was the Star Chamber, which, under Henry VII., had repressed the old nobility, and which was now composed of all the Privy Councillors, its only other members being two of the judges. The other was the Court of High Commission, erected by Queen Elizabeth, to enforce conformity on the clergy, which now became the highest ecclesiastical Court in England.

The working of these two Courts may be illustrated by some of the cases with which they dealt. Sir Robert Howard, fifth son of Thomas, first Earl of Suffolk, had committed adultery with Frances, daughter of Sir Edward Coke, and Lady Hatton, and wife of John Villiers, Viscount Purbeck, eldest brother of the Duke of Buckingham. The lady was brought before the Court of High Commission, on November 19th, 1627, when there were present the Lord Keeper Coventry ; the Earl of Manchester, Lord President ; the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward ; the Earl of Montgomery, Lord Chamberlain ; the Earl of Dorset ; Viscount Grandison ; the Bishops of London (Montaigne), Durham (Neile), Norwich (Harsnett), Rochester (Buckeridge), Bath and Wells (Laud), John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, and others. Lady Purbeck was found guilty, and was sentenced to do publick penance. To avoid this, she withdrew

privately from London to Shropshire, where for several years she continued to live with Sir Robert Howard. After 1633, the couple came up to London and took up their lodging openly at Westminster. The King and many of the peers noticed the fact, and the King called upon Archbishop Laud to put a stop to the scandal. The Archbishop apprehended both parties, and imprisoned the lady in the Gate House, and Sir Robert Howard in the Fleet. The turnkeys of the Gate House were corrupted by the friends of Lady Purbeck, who was enabled to escape to France. Sir Robert's imprisonment lasted for only two or three months. In 1640, the House of Commons fined the Archbishop for his part in this matter.

In 1630, Alexander Leighton was flogged and mutilated by order of the High Commission for having written a virulent libel against the Bishops.

In 1633, William Prynne, a Puritan barrister, was sentenced by the Star Chamber to lose his ears in the pillory, to a heavy fine and to imprisonment during the King's pleasure, for attacking the drama in a work called "*Histriomastix*" or "The Scourge of Stage-Players," in which he held the frequenting of theatres to be the cause of every crime, pointing out that all the Roman emperors, who had patronized the drama, had come to a bad end ; which was regarded as a reflexion upon King Charles, who himself was a patron of the stage. And Prynne had inserted in the index of his book a vile charge against all actresses ; which was held to be an insult to the Queen, who was at that time taking part in the rehearsal of a theatrical representation. Although the Queen graciously interceded for Prynne, his sentence was carried out in 1634.

In honour of the birth of the second English Prince

(James, Duke of York), and in order to show their detestation of Prynne's conduct at this time, the young lawyers of Lincoln's Inn and the Temple, among them Edward Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon, Lord Chancellor and royalist historian), and Bulstrode Whitelock (afterwards parliamentary Lord Keeper and historian) gave a splendid masque and ballet in the presence of the King and Queen, whilst John Milton wrote his masque "Comus," to show how little sympathy he had with Prynne's sweeping denunciations.

The chief concern of the government, however, was that of the finances. The revenue, which had been insufficient but for the frugality of Elizabeth, still less adequate for the extravagance of James I., had, as it has been observed, failed utterly to meet the load of debt, which King Charles had inherited from his father, which had been increased to a vast amount by the foreign wars and by the change in the value of money, and which Parliament had refused to relieve. To pay off the existing debt, and to meet the pressing expenses of his government, the King was obliged to resort to various expedients. Fines for not receiving knighthood, levied upon freeholders of above £40 a year ; composition for defective titles to estates ; fines for encroachment upon the royal forests ; fines for all cottages built upon less than four acres of land, according to the statute of 1570 ; fines for non-compliance with the King's proclamation that all gentry should leave London, and reside upon their estates ; various fines imposed upon the City of London, for extension beyond the limits set by the royal proclamations of Elizabeth and James I., and for breach of the conditions on which Derry was held ; exaction of customs dues, and fines for non-payment ; increase of impositions ; fines imposed by the Star

Chamber ; selling of patents of monopoly of soap, starch, beer and other articles ; demands for loans and benevolences ; ship-money. This last had for its object to maintain a fleet to protect the fisheries from the Dutch, to chastise the pirates from Algiers and the Barbary States, to co-operate with Spain in checking French designs upon Dunkirk, to maintain the sovereignty of the seas, possibly also to make war upon Spain for the restitution of the Palatinate. In 1634, the first writ for ships or ship-money was issued to the seaport towns. In 1635, the second writ for ship-money was issued to the whole country. The third writ followed in 1636, when the question was referred by the King to the judges, who in 1637 declared the writ legal in times of danger, and the King to be the sole judge of danger. This was the year in which John Hampden was tried for his refusal to pay ship-money, and the judgment was given against him. The arguments against Hampden are worth recording : " All laws must give way to necessity. It is impossible, in necessity, to consult Parliament. Property is not endangered by being used in its own defence." [1] " To be the sole judge of danger is innate in the person of an absolute King and in the persons of the Kings of England." [2] " Acts of Parliament to take away the King's royal power in defence of his Kingdom are void." [3] The arguments used in defence of Hampden were these : " The distinction was pointed out between the levy upon maritime and inland counties, which, however, was not pressed. The King was conceded to be the sole judge of the danger, but no money could be legally raised without consent of Parliament, except in sudden and extreme danger ; which danger did not then

(1) Lyttelton.
(2) Bankes.
(3) Finch.—All quoted by Tait, "Analysis of English History," 173.

exist."[1] "The King is only the proper judge of danger, when it is impossible for lack of time to consult Parliament."[2]

In July, 1633, Wentworth, who had been appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in the previous year, arrived in Dublin, to begin that able and successful administration, which lasted until 1639. In 1634, he summoned an Irish Parliament, taking care that the English settlers and the Irish Romanists should be so evenly balanced that he could do what he would with it. He carried through this Parliament admirable laws and a vote of money which enabled him to be independent of Parliament for some time to come. As far as its material interests were concerned, Ireland had never been so prosperous. Trade grew, and the flax industry of the North sprang into existence under Wentworth's protection. Churches, which had lain in ruins since the desolating wars of Elizabeth's reign, were rebuilt, and able and active clergy were invited from England. The Earl of Cork, who had illegally seized Church property to his own use, was heavily fined, and Lord Mountnorris, a self-seeking official, who refused to resign his office, was brought before a court-martial and condemned to death, though Wentworth let him know that his life was in no danger, and that all that was wanted of him was the resignation of an office, which he was unfitted to fill. Wentworth required all the officers of the Crown to live up to the motto of "Thorough," which he had adopted for himself, by which he meant a "thorough" devotion to the service of the King and the State, without regard for private interests. Wentworth gave great offence to the English officials and settlers by the harsh and overbearing way in which he kept

(1) St. John.
(2) Holborne.—Quoted by Tait, 174.

them in order. His conduct to the Celtic population was less violent than that of some other lord deputies, but he had no more idea than his predecessors of leaving the Irish permanently to their own customs and religion. He believed that, both for their own good and for the safety of the English Crown, they must be made as like Englishmen as possible, and, that, to effect this, it would be necessary to settle more Englishmen in Ireland to overawe them. Hence, the attempt in 1635 to establish a plantation in Connaught. In 1636 the Lord Deputy was able to prove to the satisfaction of the English Council the improvement in the state of finance, the discipline of the army, the administration of justice, the suppression of piracy, the growth of trade and manufactures.

It is impossible to speak of the administration of Thomas Wentworth in Ireland without turning at once to the work of his close friend and colleague in England, William Laud, who, one month after Wentworth's arrival in Ireland, in August 1633, had been translated, upon the death of Archbishop Abbot, to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury.[1] As Bishop of London, from 1628 to 1633, Laud had enforced in his diocese conformity to the full ritual of the Book of Common Prayer. "I laboured nothing more," he afterwards said, "than that the external public worship of God—too much slighted in most parts of the Kingdom—might be preserved, and that with as much decency and uniformity as might be ; being

(1) In Laud converged all the lines of Apostolick Succession, in England: Pre-Reformation English, through Gardiner, Bonner, Curwen, Hampton; Post-Reformation English, through Parker; Post-Reformation Roman, through Antonio de Dominis, ex-Archbishop of Spalatro, Co-consecrator of George Montaigne, Bishop of London, who was one of Laud's consecrators. The Pre-Reformation line came in through Howson, who assisted at Laud's consecration, who in turn had been consecrated by Morton, who in his turn had been consecrated by Hampton.—(James Dunn.)

still of opinion that unity cannot long continue in the Church when uniformity is shut out of the Church door." It was natural that Laud should press on the collection of funds for the restoration of his Cathedral Church, the glorious ancient Gothic St. Paul's. One of his last measures, before leaving London for Canterbury, was to refer to the judges the question of the legality of the purchase of impropriate Church livings by a company of Puritans for the purpose of preaching Puritanism. The judges decided against the legality of the purchase, and the society was suppressed.

As Archbishop, Laud followed in the English Church the same policy of "Thorough," which Wentworth was using at the same time with such effect in Ireland. By the advice of the Archbishop, in consequence of an attempt of the judges to put an end to Sunday amusements, the King republished the "Declaration of Sports," which had been issued by his father, authorising such amusements under certain restrictions. To do away with the scandalous and sacreligious treatment of the Communion-table, which the Puritans placed in any part of the Church, and which they used as a writing-table or a receptacle for hats and coats, the Archbishop brought pressure upon the Bishops to have the holy-table moved to the east end of the Church, placed altar-wise, and railed off in the ancient sanctuary. Between the years of 1634 and 1637, the Archbishop held his Metropolitical Visitation, either in person or by deputy, throughout the Province of Canterbury. Conformity to the ritual of the Book of Common Prayer, the placing of the Altar in the east end of the Chancel, bowing at the sacred name of Jesus, were enforced. Offenders were prosecuted in the Court of High Commission. These measures, which

seem to us matters of decency and propriety, though the methods by which they were enforced, appear singular in the twentieth century, raised a storm of antagonism on the part of the Puritans. Their animosity was increased when the Archbishop required conformity to the Church of England from the children of French and Walloon Protestants, who had settled in the country ; when he prohibited the English Envoy in Paris from attending the Huguenot Chapel ; when he refused to allow the further importation into England of Calvinistic Geneva Bibles.

Both the King and the Archbishop entertained large views of Catholick Christendom, they recognised that the Church of England was only a part of the whole, and they were ready to do what they could, without sacrificing principle, to promote the reunion of the divided parts. In 1634, there seems to have been a scheme for reunion A Papal agent was received at Court. The offer of a Cardinal's Hat was made to the Archbishop, on condition of his bringing the English Church under the obedience of the See of Rome.

But it is time to let the Archbishop speak for himself from the pages of his Diary :

" 1630, May 29, Saturday. Prince Charles was born at St. James's, *paulo ante horam primam post meridiem*. I was in the house three hours before, and had the honour and happiness to see the Prince, before he was full one hour old.

" June 27, Sunday. I had the honour, as Dean of the Chapel, my Lord's Grace of Canterbury being infirm, to christen Prince Charles at St. James's, *hora fere quinta pomeridiana*."

The King rode in great state to St. Paul's to give thanks for the birth of this son, the heir-apparent to his crown. In this year also the King and Queen

came privately to Arundel House, and gave the name of Charles to Lord Arundel's infant grandson.

"Dec. 7, Tuesday. The King sware the peace with Spain. Don C. Colonna was ambassador.

"Dec. 25, I preached to the King. Christmas Day.

"1631, Feb. 23, Ash-Wednesday. I preached in Court at Whitehall.

"March 20, Sunday. His Majesty put his great case of conscience to me, about, etc.; which I after answered—God bless him in it."

In the summer of 1630, the King had designed Donne, the famous Dean of St. Paul's, for a bishopric; but at this very moment came the entire breakdown of Donne's health, and the thought of any promotion was out of the question. The last of Donne's sermons was preached before the King at Whitehall on the 12th of February 1631. It was published soon after Donne's decease as "Death's Duel." It was called by the King's household "The Doctor's own funeral sermon." John Donne died on March 31st, 1631.

During this year, the King gave Bishop Laud 200 tons of timber in Shotover, towards the building of St. John's College at Oxford, the first stone of which was laid July 26th.

"Aug. 23. The King, with all the Lords of his Council then present, heard the cause [of certain disorders in the University of Oxford] at Woodstock, Aug. 23, 1631, being Tuesday in the afternoon.

"Nov. 4, Friday. The Lady Mary, Princess, born at St. James's, *inter horas quintam et sextam matutinas*. It was thought she was born three weeks before her time.

"Dec. 25, I preached at Court.

"1632, Feb. 15, I preached at Court, Ash-Wednesday.

"April 1, I preached at Court, Easter Day.

"June 15, Mr. Francis Windebancke, my old friend, was sworn Secretary of State; which place I obtained for him of my gracious master King Charles.

"July 10, Tuesday. Doctor Juxon the Dean of Worcester, at my suit, sworn Clerk of His Majesty's Closet. That I might have one, that I might trust, near His Majesty, if I grow weak or infirm, as I must have a time.

"Dec. 2, Sunday. The small-pox appeared upon His Majesty; but, God be thanked, he had a very gentle disease of it.

"Dec. 25, I preached to the King, Christmas Day.

"Dec. 27, Thursday. The Earl of Arundel set forward towards the Low Countries, to fetch the Queen of Bohemia and her children."

The King of Bohemia had died November 29th. The Queen declined visiting England at this time.

"1633, Feb. 13, Wednesday. The feoffees, that pretended to buy in impropriations, were dissolved in the Chequer Chamber. They were the main instruments for the Puritan faction to undo the Church. The criminal part reserved.

"April 13. The great business at the Council table, etc. When the Earl of Holland made his submission to the King."

From May 13th until July 20th, 1633, the King was engaged in his Progress to Scotland and his Coronation there; which shall be related hereafter.

"Aug. 4, Sunday. News came to Court of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's death; and the King resolved presently to give it me. Which he did, Aug. 6.

"Aug. 4. That very morning, at Greenwich, there came one to me, seriously, and that avowed

ability to perform it, and offered me to be a Cardinal : I went presently to the King, and acquainted him both with the thing and the person.

" Aug. 17, Saturday. I had a serious offer made me again to be a Cardinal ; I was then from Court, but so soon as I came thither (which was Wednesday, Aug. 21) I acquainted His Majesty with it. But my answer again was, that something dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till Rome was other than it is.

" Aug. 25, Sunday. My election to the Archbishoprick was returned to the King, then being at Woodstock.

" Sept. 19, Thursday. I was translated to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury. The Lord make me able, etc."

On October 14th, 1633, James, Duke of York, was born. The King had hurried back from Scotland, riding across country almost alone, to join the Queen at Greenwich. The birth of the Prince was followed by a grand christening. " The Queen of Bohemia was much gratified by the fact that King Charles sought all the godparents at the Hague. The Prince of Orange was very insistent that Lord Arundel should act as his proxy. The young Elector was represented by the Lord Treasurer, and Elizabeth herself by Lady Hamilton. The child was carried by Lady Arundel's sister, Lady Kent, supported by the Lord Privy Seal and the Duke of Lennox."[1] The infant was appointed by his father Lord High Admiral of England. He was regarded as the favourite son of the Queen. At this time, or soon afterwards, the King sent the Garter to his nephew, the young Prince Elector.

" Nov. 24, Sunday, in the afternoon, I christened

(1) " Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel," p. 347.

King Charles his second son, James, Duke of York. At St. James's.

"1634, Mar. 30, Palm Sunday. I preached to the King at Whitehall.

"Aug. 30, Sunday. At Oatlands the Queen sent for me, and gave me thanks for a business with which she trusted me; her promise then that she would be my friend, and that I should have immediate address to her, when I had occasion."

In 1634, the Archbishop presided over a commission to deal with the spiritual affairs of the North American Colonies; and an order in Council gave the Bishop of London jurisdiction over English congregations abroad. In 1638, there was a plan on foot to send a Bishop to Virginia.

Gregorio Panzani, an Oratorian, was sent to England in December 1634, by Pope Urban VIII., to pave the way for the diplomatic representation of the Holy See at the Court of Henrietta Maria. Much of his time was taken up in discussion with Secretary Windebank, respecting a possible reunion between the Churches of England and Rome. Panzani's mission terminated in 1636. The King gave tacit approval to the appointment of a semi-official representative of the Vatican at the Queen's Court and of a diplomatic representative of the Queen at the Papal Court. George Conn, a Scotsman by birth, appeared at Denmark House, and Sir William Hamilton was appointed the Queen's agent in Rome.[1]

"1635, Mar. 22, Palm Sunday. I preached to the King at Whitehall.

"May 18, Whitsun Monday. At Greenwich, my account to the Queen put off till Trinity Sunday, May 24, then given her by myself. And assurance of all that was desired by me.

(1) "Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel," pp. 381, 396, 397.

"Sept. 2, Wednesday. I was in attendance upon the King at Woodstock and went thence to Cudsden, to see the house which Dr. John Bancroft, then Lord Bishop of Oxford, had there built, to be a house for the Bishops of that See for ever. He having built that house at my persuasion.

"Sept. 29. The Earl of Arundel brought an old man out of Shropshire. He was this present Michaelmas Day showed to the King and the Lords, for a man of 152 or 153 years of age." This was Thomas Parr, the memorable instance of longevity. He was born in 1483.

"Nov. 21, Saturday, Charles, Count Elector Palatine came to Whitehall to the King." This Prince was the eldest surviving son of Frederick, Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth, King Charles' sister.

"Nov. 30, Saint Andrew's Day, Monday. Charles, Prince Elector Palatine, the King's nephew, was with me at Lambeth, and at solemn evening prayer.

"Dec. 14, Monday. Charles, Prince Elector, came suddenly upon me, and dined with me at Lambeth.

"Dec. 25, Christmas Day. Charles, Prince Elector, received the Communion with the King at Whitehall. He kneeled a little beside on his left hand. He sat before the Communion upon a stool by the wall before the traverse ; and had another stool and a cushion before him to kneel at.

"Dec. 28, Monday. Innocents' Day. About ten at night, the Queen was delivered at St. James's of a daughter, Princess Elizabeth. I christened her on Saturday following.

"1636. Feb. 28. I consecrated Doctor Roger Mainwaring, Bishop of St. David's." Dr. Mainwaring had been appointed Dean of Worcester in May, 1633.

"March 6, Sunday. William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord High Treasurer of England. No Churchman had it since Henry VII.'s time. I pray God bless him to carry it so, that the Church may have honour, and the King and State service and contentment by it. And now if the Church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more." "Upon Ash-Wednesday," says another diarist, "[the Bishop of London] was appointed to preach; after sermon the King thanked him. Then, in the Council House, at the table, the Earl of Pembroke being by, the King said, that the Treasurer's place had been some space void, and it was a place that concerned him nearly to place a man in, that might be discreet and provident for the good of his children which God had blessed him with. Such a conscionable man he thought might best be found among the clergy, and among the clergy I judge you, my Lord of London, the fittest, since you have no children, etc., to the like effect; and so delivered him a staff in token of possession of the place. Afterward he was sworn at the Lord Keeper's house, by special commission from the King."

"June 21, Tuesday. My hearing before the King about my right to visit both the Universities *jure metropolitico*. It was ordered with me. The hearing was at Hampton Court.

"Aug. 29, Monday, King Charles and Queen Mary entered Oxford; being to be there entertained by me as Chancellor of the University.

"Aug. 30, Tuesday. I entertained them at St. John's College. It was St. Felix his day, and all passed happily. Charles, Prince Elector Palatine, and his brother Prince Rupertus, were there. These two were present in Convocation; and, with other nobles, were made Masters of Arts.

"Aug. 31, Wednesday. They left Oxford, and I returned homewards the day after, having first entertained all the Heads of Houses together."

At this time the Protestant feeling against the King and the Archbishop ran high, and many libels and pasquinades were written and spread about London and in the country. On the other hand, the Queen's Romish chaplains were active in the work of proselytizing, and gained some notable conversions. Elizabeth, Viscountess Falkland, made a public pilgrimage to the Holy Well of St. Winifred in Wales, and, in consequence, the King ordered her imprisonment.

Early in the year 1637, the Earl of Arundel returned to England from his unsuccessful embassy to the Emperor in behalf of the claims of the Elector Palatine. Lord Arundel was received with much favour by the King and Queen of England, who on several occasions visited Arundel House to see the new treasures brought back from Germany.

"1637, March 30, Thursday, I christened the Lady Princess Ann, King Charles his third daughter. She was born on Friday, March 17.

"June 14. This day Jo. Bastwick, Dr. of Physic ; Hen. Burton, Batch. of Divinity ; and Wi. Prynne, Barrister at Law, were censured for their libels against the Hierarchy of the Church.

"June 25. The speech I then spake in the Star Chamber was commanded by the King to be printed, and it came out June 25.

"June 26, Monday. The Prince Elector, and his brother Prince Rupert, began their journey toward the seaside, to return for Holland.

"June 30, Friday. The above-named three libellers lost their ears.

"July 11, Tuesday. Dr. Williams, Lord Bishop

of Lincoln, was censured in the Star Chamber for tampering and corrupting of witnesses in the King's cause ; and July 24, being Monday, he was suspended by the High Commission.

"Aug. 3, Thursday. I married James, Duke of Lennox, to the Lady Mary Villiers, sole daughter to the Lord Duke of Buckingham. The marriage was in my Chapel at Lambeth ; the day very rainy ; the King present.

"Oct. 22, Sunday. A great noise about the perverting of the Lady Newport. Speech of it at the Council. My free speech there to the King, concerning the increasing of the Roman party, the freedom at Denmark House [Somerset House, the Queen's Court], the carriage of Mr. Wal. Montague and Sir Tobye Matthewe. The Queen acquainted with all I said that very night ; and highly displeased with me, and so continues.

"Dec. 12, Tuesday. I had speech with the Queen a good space, and all about the business of Mr. Montague, but we parted fair."

Lord Conway writing to the Lord Deputy of Ireland speaks thus of these perversions : "My Lord Newport was so fierce in complaining for his wife being made a Papist that the matter was debated at the Council-table, where the King did use such words of Wat Montague and Sir Tobie Matthew, that the fright made Wat keep chamber longer than his sickness would have detained him ; and Don Tobiah was in such perplexity, that I find he will make a very ill man to be a martyr, but now the dog doth again wag his tail." Walter Montague was a younger son of the first Earl of Manchester. He became a Romanist in 1635. Toby Matthew was the eldest son of Dr. Toby Matthew, Archbishop of York. He was converted to the Romish Church by

Parsons the Jesuit, and joined the Society of the Jesuits.

"In the month of May, the little Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles II., was made a Knight of the Garter at Windsor, with all the usual ceremonies and festivities."[1]

On October 19th, 1638, the Queen Mother of France, Marie de' Medici, mother of Queen Henrietta Maria, who had been driven from France by Cardinal Richelieu, landed at Harwich, whither King Charles went in state to meet her, and by so doing incurred the hatred of Richelieu, which was manifested very soon in Scotland. On Wednesday, October 31st, "the Queen Mother came to London, and so to St. James's."[2] "When the royal carriage in which were seated Marie de' Medicis and her son-in-law, Charles I., entered the great quadrangle of the palace of St. James, Queen Henrietta, at the first flourish of trumpets, left her chamber and descended the great staircase to receive her august mother. She was accompanied by her children, the little Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the two Princesses, Mary and the infant Elizabeth."[3]

"1639, Feb. 10. My book against Fisher the Jesuit was printed [for the first time in a separate edition]; and this day, being Sunday, I delivered a copy to his Majesty."[2]

While the religious atmosphere of the Court was disturbed by the activities of Roman agents and the conversion of not a few notable personages, and while the Bishops were engaged in putting down Puritan malcontents and objectors, the spiritual life of the Church of England flowed on with so strong

(1) "Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel," p. 410.
(2) Laud.
(3) Strickland, viii., 58.

and vigorous a stream that the period of King Charles I. marks one of the great revivals in the history of the Catholick Church. The signs of this revival were to be seen on every side. The King gave back to the Church, wherever possible, the lands which had been alienated from her. This was done in Ireland, under Lord Wentworth's government, even to the diminution of the revenues of the Crown. "Though His Majesty," says Fuller,[1] "never was sensible of any loss to himself, if thereby gain might redound to God, in His ministers." To do the same by the Church lands in Scotland was one of the causes of the outbreak of the Scottish nobles, who had appropriated the lands for themselves. In England, the King had purposed the same restitution, and had registered a vow before Dr. Sheldon, his Chaplain, that, if his arms were victorious, the restoration should be made. Ruined Churches were rebuilt, often at the cost of individuals. Churches and Cathedrals which had suffered during the Reformation were adorned once more with religious objects and ornaments. Altars of stone were set up in the accustomed place at the east end. Crosses, images of the saints, painted windows, costly hangings, vestments of the clergy, silver and gold plate for the Altar, were provided in many places. The office for the consecration of Churches, as drawn up by Bishop Andrewes, was used frequently by Archbishop Laud and his Suffragans. St. Paul's Cathedral was undergoing restoration and refitting. Little Gidding Church was rebuilt by the Ferrar family; the ancient Church of Abbey Dore, by Lord Scudamore; the Chapels at Abergwili, Lambeth, Croydon, Fulham, were built or repaired by Laud and Juxon. The Archbishop himself undertook the

(1) "Church History," iii., 379.

new buildings for St. John's College, Oxford. The Puritan Neal describes Canterbury Cathedral as provided with "two candlesticks, tapers, a basin for oblations, a cushion for the service-book, a silver gilt canister for the wafers, a credentia, or side table, with a basin and ewer and napkins, and a towel, to wash before consecration," and adds that "on some altars there was a pot called the incense pot, and a knife to cut the communion bread."[1] Heylin describes thus Bishop Mainwaring's changes at Worcester Cathedral: "He erected a fair table of marble, standing on four well-fashioned columns; he covered the wall behind the same with azure coloured stuff, having white silk lace upon every seam, and furnished it with palls and fronts, as he had observed it in His Majesty's and some Bishops' Chapels; and ordered the King's scholars, being forty in number, who formerly used to throng tumultuously into the choir, to go in rank, by two and two and make their due obeisances at their coming in."[2] A green carpet was purchased for the Communion-table of St. Mary's, Reading. St. Edmund's, Salisbury, had in 1631 "one cloth of red damask and gold for the Communion-table," St. George's Chapel, Windsor, was provided with "two fair double gilt chalices with covers, two fair double-gilt flagons, and a bason, gilt, for the bread at great Communions." The parish priest, according to George Herbert, would take care that his Church was "at great festivals, strawed or stuck with boughs and perfumed with incense." Churches were decked "at Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide with holly, ivy, rosemary,

(1) Hutton, 99—103.

(2) Hutton, 99—103 cf. Description of Little Gidding Church, "Nicholas Ferrar," Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biography," v., pp. 157, 158.

bays and green boughs."[1] It was alleged against Dr. Cosin by the Puritans, that, at Durham Cathedral, he introduced the custom of "standing up at the Nicene Creed, *Gloria Patri*, wearing of copes at the second service [the Communion], setting tapers burning, and not burning, on the Communion-table"[2]; "at the first Candlemas, at night, he caused three hundred wax candles to be set up and lighted in the Church at once in honour of our Lady, and placed three score of them upon and about the Altar."[3] The organs were played during the administration of the sacraments of Holy Communion and Baptism.

"Something, at least, of the old Pre-Reformation style of Church music had survived, and much of the work of the musicians of the Reformation period."[4] The use of hymns in the Church service was unknown. Anthems in the words of the Holy Scripture took the place of hymns. The chanting of the Psalms and Canticles, the singing of the *Kyrie eleison*, the Creed, the *Sursum Corda* and *Sanctus*, and *Gloria in excelsis*, were the parts of the service, upon which the musicians expended their greatest care.

In most of the Cathedral Churches, the Holy Communion was celebrated every Sunday and Saint's Day. In many of the Parish Churches, the celebration was at least once a month. In the Royal Chapels, in Cathedral Churches and in College Chapels, there were public prayers every day, and lectures also on the weekdays. Catechizing was directed to be held everywhere in the afternoon. Rogation Processions, mentioned by both George Herbert and Robert Herrick, were encouraged by the Bishops, notably by Bishop Montague. Dedication festivals were observed in the Parish Churches.

(1) Hutton, 99—103.
(2) Hutton, 100.
(3) Hutton, 101.
(4) Hutton, 338, 339.

From a photograph by Percy J. Slater, Sawtry, Peterborough.

LITTLE GIDDING CHURCH.

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But the truest fruits of the Church revival were to be seen in the lives of the clergy and people. The names of the most eminent Churchmen of the time have been mentioned on an earlier page. But it should not be forgotten that John Donne and George Herbert lived well into this period, the one dying in 1631, the other a year later. But the most eminent of all the Churchmen of his time was King Charles himself. No one in all his dominions was more punctilious in his religious duties, or more devout when engaged in them, than His Majesty himself. Every day he heard the prayers of the Church. He made his communion with regularity, and he appealed to his Chaplains for ghostly counsel and advice in all matters of conscience. No question concerning the Church was treated by him lightly, or laid aside. On the contrary, anything that related to religion instantly won his interest and serious consideration. The King's intercourse with the family of the Ferrars at Little Gidding will serve to illustrate at once this important side of His Majesty's character and the life of a religious community during his reign. The following is a quotation from the "Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar" by P. Peckard, D.D., Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1790, included in Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biography," vol. V., pp. 176—179, 206—209.[1]

"In May, 1633, His Majesty set out upon his journey to Scotland, and in his progress he stepped a little out of his road to view Little Gidding, in Huntingdonshire, which by the common people was called 'The Protestant Nunnery.' The family, having notice, met His Majesty at the extremity of the parish, at a place called from this event the King's

(1) *Vide* also pp. 210—212, 215—230, of the same: "Papers of Mr. John Ferrar."

Close ; and, in the form of their solemn processions, conducted him to their Church, which he viewed with great pleasure. He enquired into, and was informed of the particulars of their public and domestic economy ; but it does not appear that at this time he made any considerable stay. The following summer His Majesty and the Queen passed two nights at Apthorpe in Northamptonshire, the seat of Mildmay Fane, Earl of Westmoreland. From thence he sent one of his gentlemen to *intreat* (His Majesty's own word) a sight of *the Concordance*, which he had heard was some time since done at Gidding ; with assurance that in a few days, when he had perused it, he would send it back again. But it was not returned in a few days, or weeks : some months were elapsed when the gentleman brought it back from the King, who was then at London. He said he had many things to deliver to the family from his master. First, to yield the King's hearty thanks to them all for the sight of the book, which passed the report he had heard of it. Then to signify his approbation of it in all respects. Next to excuse him in two points. The first for not returning it so soon as he had promised ; the other for that he had in many places of the margin written notes in it with his own hand. And (which I know will please you) said the gentleman, you will find an instance of my master's humility in one of the margins. The place I mean is where he had written something with his own hand, and then put it out again, acknowledging that he was mistaken in that particular. Certainly this was an act of great humility in the King and worthy to be noted ; and the book itself is much graced by it.

" The gentleman farther told them that the King took such delight in it, that he passed some part

of every day in perusing it. And lastly, he said, to show you how true this is, and that what I have declared is no court compliment, I am expressly commanded by my master, earnestly to request of you, Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, and of the young ladies, that you would make him one of these books for his own use, and if you will please to undertake it, His Majesty says you will do him a most acceptable service." . . . .

"In about a year's time it was finished ; and it was sent to London to be presented to His Majesty by Dr. Laud, then made Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Cosin, Master of Peterhouse, whose turn it was to wait that month, being one of the King's Chaplains."

"The King gratiously with a cheerful countenance received it ; and after a curious perusal, after having asked many questions concerning the work, and the parties that had done it, said to the Lord's Grace of Canterbury, and divers other lords that stood about him (Dr. Cosin being also there, that was his Chaplain for that month), 'Truly, my lords, I prize this as a rare and rich jewel, and worth a king's acceptance. The substance of it is of the best alloy in the world, and ought to be the only desirable book. And for the skill, care, cost used in it, there is no defect, but a superlative diligence in all about it. I very much thank them all ; and it shall be my *vade mecum*. How happy a King were I, if I had many more such workmen and women in my kingdom ! God's blessing on their hearts, and painful hands ! I know they will receive no reward for it.' Then he gave the book to the lords to peruse, saying, there are fine pictures in it. The lords said they believed the like book was not in the world to be seen. It was a precious gem, and worthy of his cabinet.

"Then said the King to my Lord of Canterbury and to Dr. Cosin, 'What think you? Will not these good people be willing that I put them to a further trouble? I find their ability and art is excellent; and why should I doubt of their condescension to my desire?' 'Your Majesty need not,' replied the Archbishop; and Dr. Cosin seconded him. 'We know they will fulfil your commands in all things in their powers.' 'Well,' said the King, 'let me tell you. I often read the books of Kings and Chronicles, as is befitting a King; but in many things, I find some seeming contradictions; and one book saith more, and the other less, in many circumstances, the latter being a supply to the former. Now I seeing this judicious and well-contrived book of the Four Evangelists, I gladly would have these skilful persons to make me another book that might be so ordered, that I might read these stories of Kings and Chronicles so interwoven by them, as if one pen had written the whole books; and to make it a complete history altogether; yet so again ordering the matter, that I may also read them severally and apart, if I would. I have often spoken to many of my Chaplains about this thing; but they have excused themselves from it as a difficult work, and they not skilful in that way.' . . . So intimation was given them at Gidding of this thing; and they with all care and diligence instantly set about it."

The second book, the Harmony of the Books of Kings and Chronicles, was completed within a year, about October, 1636, brought to the King, and received by him in much the same manner as on the occasion of the presentation of the first. His Majesty spoke of the book as "a most rare crystal glass, and most useful, and needful and profitable for me and all kings. It shows and represents to

the life, God's exceeding high and rich mercies, to all pious and virtuous kings, and likewise His severe justice to all ill and bad."

Nicholas Ferrar died in 1637. "But the connexion between the King and this family did not cease on Mr. Ferrar's death. For it appears from several papers still in being, that there was what may be justly called a friendly intercourse subsisting, even till the distressful year 1646. For during this interval, and after the death of Mr. Ferrar, other harmonies of other parts of the Scripture were drawn up by Nicholas Ferrar, junior, upon the plan of his uncle, by the particular direction of the King, for the use of the Prince." . . . "For the Prince, a Harmony of the Four Evangelists, like that which first attracted the attention of his father; and for the King, a Harmony of the Gospels in English, Latin, French and Italian; a second Harmony of the Gospels in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, High Dutch, Saxon and Welsh; the entire New Testament expressed in twenty-four languages; and the Gospel of St. John in as many languages as there are chapters. These five volumes were brought to London by Nicholas Ferrar, the younger, a youth of twenty-one, whose extraordinary knowledge of foreign languages had enabled him to translate and arrange the works, which he now offered to the King, on Maundy Thursday, 1640. The next day Nicholas Ferrar carried his gift for the Prince of Wales to Richmond, where he presented it to the Prince in the presence of the little Duke of York. It was the King's intention to send Nicholas Ferrar to Oxford under his own immediate protection; but within a few days of his presentation to the King, young Ferrar was stricken with his mortal illness, and died on May 19, 1640."

King Charles, the most learned and accomplished Prince of his time, was an intelligent patron of the arts and of letters. He loved the works of Shakespeare. His friendship with Lord Bacon, Sir Henry Wotton and Dean Donne has been referred to. The religious poetry of George Herbert, Henry Vaughan, Robert Herrick, Richard Crashaw, Francis Quarles and Giles Fletcher belongs to this time. Other poets of the period were Phineas Fletcher, George Wither, Thomas Carew, William Drummond, Sir William Davenant, Richard Lovelace. Edward Fairfax and Michael Drayton died respectively in 1631 and 1632. John Milton had won his reputation as a great poet of the Renaissance, and had not yet sold his genius to regicides and usurpers. His "Comus" was acted first before the family of Lord Bridgewater, the Lord President of Wales, in Ludlow Castle, in 1634. In the same historic building, in the reign of Charles II., Samuel Butler wrote his satire upon the Puritans in "Hudibras." Sir John Suckling, Edmund Waller, Abraham Cowley were showing the beauty of English lyric poetry. The name of Andrew Marvel, which will occur again in this narrative, must not be omitted from this list. George Chapman, John Fletcher, Ben Jonson, John Ford, Philip Massinger, James Shirley were the dramatists of the period. And the graceful masques of these writers were the delight of the Queen and her ladies. In Her Majesty's favourite residences, Somerset House, St. James's Palace, and Woodstock, Van Dyck's pencil and Inigo Jones' devices for scenery were employed lavishly to form a fit setting for the masques of Ben Jonson, the poems of Beaumont and Fletcher, and the lyrics of Waller. Writers of history, biography and philosophy were Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Sir Henry

Spelman, Thomas Fuller, author of "Church History of Britain" and "British Worthies," Peter Heylin, biographer of Archbishop Laud. Thomas Hobbes was the chief philosopher of the times. William Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of blood, represented science. Inigo Jones, much of whose work still survives, will be remembered as the great architect of the reigns of James I. and Charles I. The Earl of Arundel was a great patron and collector of works of art, "the father of vertu in England," as Horace Walpole calls him. In December, 1628, the King and Queen paid a visit to Arundel House, and went through all the rooms to see the collections. Selden's *Marmora Arundeliana* and the Arundelian marbles and statues now at Oxford bear witness to the splendour of the original collection. At Oxford, too, Archbishop Laud was making his princely benefactions in buildings, endowments and oriental MSS. Musicians, whose productions still set the standard for English music, were William Byrd, John Bull, Orlando Gibbons.

One of the most pleasing associations connected with the name of Charles I. is his patronage of the fine arts. The King was a man of excellent taste, a large purchaser of paintings, and his galleries were adorned with works of Raffaelle and Titian, of Correggio and Guido. He brought Raffaelle's Cartoons into England, where they may be seen to-day in the Royal Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington. John Evelyn records in his Diary, under the date of 1644, March 1st, in Paris, his visit to the Count de Liancourt's Palace in the Rue de Seine, where among many other treasures of art he noticed a Madonna of Lucas Van Leyden, sent the Count by King Charles I., and a very rare Madonna of Titian, given him also by King Charles. Peter

Paul Rubens, who had been present at the nuptials of Henrietta Maria at Nôtre-Dame on May 11th, 1625, visited England in 1629, as the political agent of Philip IV. of Spain. From London, 9th August, 1629, Rubens wrote, "Certainly, in this island I do not find the barbarous conditions which might be presumed from its climate, so remote from Italian elegance. On the contrary, I confess that in what concerns excellent pictures by the hands of the greatest masters, I have never seen so large a mass together as in the royal collection and in that of the late Duke of Buckingham; while the Earl of Arundel possesses an infinity of antique statues, both Greek and Roman."[1] On the 21st of February, Rubens was knighted by King Charles, who presented him with the sword used at the ceremony, which is still preserved by the descendants of the artist. Rubens, besides his sketches for the banqueting hall at Whitehall, painted the admirable picture of "The Blessings of Peace," now in the National Gallery. There is no reason to doubt that His Majesty sat to him for his portrait. But the artist, whose name is written indelibly in the annals of King Charles' Court, is Anthony Van Dyck, who had visited England as a young man in the time of James I., but who attracted the notice of King Charles, through a portrait of the King's musician-in-chief, Nicholas Lanière, in 1626. In 1632, Van Dyck took up his residence in England, was given the title of painter in ordinary to His Majesty, the grant of a pension of £200, and the honour of knighthood. He was lodged at the expense of the Crown, with a summer residence at Eltham Palace, and was frequently honoured with the visits of the King at his studio at Blackfriars. Charles I. and Henrietta

(1) *Vide* "Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel," p. 284.

Maria are known to posterity almost exclusively through the canvasses of Van Dyck. During the first year of his presence in England, he painted the King and Queen a dozen times. The first of these noble portraits is the admirable full-length of Charles I., with the Queen and their two eldest children, at Windsor Castle. The group of the three English royal children followed in 1635. Van Dyck had suggested, through his friend Sir Kenelm Digby, for the banqueting-hall at Whitehall, a series of decorations illustrating the history of the Order of the Garter, and the King had been much pleased with the idea ; but the plan failed through the excessively high price asked by the painter, and perhaps also because the King had thought of having the work done in tapestry. Van Dyck died, December 9th, 1641, at Blackfrairs. He was buried in old St. Paul's, where a Latin inscription was placed on his tomb by Charles I. The fame of Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini, who designed the great colonnade of St. Peter's in Rome, spread to England, and King Charles, desiring a bust of himself by Bernini, sent three portraits by Van Dyck of different positions, to the sculptor, who executed a bust, which so pleased the King, that he took off a ring from his finger, valued at six thousand crowns, and sent it to Bernini. The bust is believed to have perished in the fire at Whitehall, though one, which may be the lost masterpiece, is at Rosenberg Castle, Copenhagen.

The Court of King Charles I. was the most splendid in Europe. It was distinguished for its ordered stateliness and dignity, for its marked respect for religion, for its cultivation of philosophical discourse and genuine learning, for the tone and the manners of the age of chivalry. In all of these directions, the King himself led the way. The grace and beauty

of the Court was centered in the Queen, whose personal loveliness and French vivacity won all who approached her. Both King and Queen were singularly happy in their family life. They were, at this period of their greatest prosperity, the parents of six children, Charles, Prince of Wales, Mary, Princess Royal (afterwards Princess of Orange), James, Duke of York, the Ladies Elizabeth and Anne (who died December 8th, 1640, aged four years), and Henry, Duke of Gloucester. The dynasty appeared to be firmly established. The households of many of the great nobles reflected the lustre of the family and the Court of the King and Queen. Notable among these great homes of England were those of the Lord Falkland at Great Tew near Oxford, of the Sidneys at Penshurst in Kent, of the Earl of Bridgewater at Ludlow, of the Earl of Newcastle at Bolsover, of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey. And where the noblest of the land set a high example of duty and devotion, the people were likely to follow. Happy indeed must it have been to have lived in England under King Charles I. ! A strong paternal government, peace with foreign nations ; order and security at home ; religion fostered ; agriculture, trade and manufacture encouraged ; art and literature flourishing ; a King and a nobility recognising their responsibilities ; a prosperous and contented people ; a beautiful and fertile country ; most of the great monuments of the past, Cathedrals, Churches, Castles and manor-houses, untouched as yet by Puritan malevolence and the ravages of war ;—was it a state of things too full of bliss for mortal man to retain ?[1] "Happy are the people that are in such a case ; yea, blessed are the people who have the Lord for their God."[2]

(1) Clarendon, I., 123, 127.
(2) Ps. cxliv., 15.

CHAPTER VII.

SCOTLAND.

1633—1640.

King Charles' first visit to Scotland—His Coronation at Holyrood—The Scottish Parliament—State of religion in Scotland—Introduction of the Prayer Book—Riots—The National Covenant—The Glasgow Assembly—First Bishops' War—Pacification of Berwick—The Scottish Assembly and Parliament abolish Episcopacy—Wentworth called to the King's assistance—Help from Ireland.

It was in Scotland, King Charles' native land, the ancient hereditary kingdom of the House of Stuart, that the spark of insurrection was kindled, which gaining strength soon overwhelmed all three kingdoms with its flames.

On Monday, May 13th, 1633, writes Archbishop Laud, "I set out from London, to attend King Charles into Scotland."[1] The Royal Progress, which began in the middle of May, was not completed until the first week in June. It was the first time that the King "had revisited the land of his birth, since his father ascended the English throne. Great were the preparations made for his reception. Lavish the entertainment offered him as he passed through England on his way north. Never had the country appeared more peaceful, more prosperous, more fertile of hope for the stability of the future. Charles himself, wishing to endow the occasion with every

(1) Diary.

circumstance of splendour, had largely added to the number of his brilliant retinue."[1] It was in the course of this northern journey that the King visited the Ferrars at Little Gidding for the first time.[2] "The climax of magnificence was reached when the august company passed through Nottinghamshire; where the Earl of Newcastle welcomed and feasted the royal party at Welbeck Abbey with an extravagance of luxury rarely seen before in England."[1] "On May 24, the King was to enter York in state. The day was extreme wind and rain, that he could not, all day long. I called it York Friday."[3] After a sumptuous entertainment by Sir Henry Vane at Raby Castle, the King passed to Durham, where on June 2nd he was the guest of the Bishop of that princely See.

On June 6th, Berwick was reached, and the royal cavalcade crossed the Tweed into Scotland. On "June 18, Tuesday after Trinity, King Charles crowned at Holyrood Church in Edinburgh. I never saw more expressions of joy than were after it."[3]

The King's "entry and coronation were managed with such magnificence," says Bishop Burnet, "that the country suffered much by it, all was entertainment and show."[4] The ceremony of crowning the King, which followed the order of the English Coronation at Westminster, was performed by Spottiswode, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and the sermon was preached by Lindsay, Bishop of Brechin.

In the Abbey Church adjacent to the Palace of Holyrood, there had been built a stage twenty-four

(1) "Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel," p. 340.
(2) *Vide* Chapter vi., 141, 142.
(3) Laud's Diary.
(4) "History of his Own Times," p. 11.

From a photograph by Francis C. Inglis, Edinburgh.

THE CHAPEL ROYAL — HOLYROOD ABBEY.

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feet in length and breadth, four feet high, with three steps on the west and three on the east, the whole being covered with carpets. A smaller stage was built upon the great stage, two feet above it, covered with curious needlework of gold and green, on which the throne was placed. Between the stage and the Altar was a chair of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold, with footstool and cushions, before which stood a little table covered with crimson velvet fringed and laced with gold, whereon lay a richly covered Bible. Here His Majesty sat and heard the sermon. On the south side of the Altar was a traverse for vesting ; on the north side of the Altar, the pulpit, covered with crimson velvet ; before the Altar, a little desk covered with rich embroidery of gold and green silk, with cushions, for his Majesty to kneel. On the west side of the pulpit were seats for the Primate of St. Andrew's and the Bishops. A little table was placed near the south end of the Altar, covered with green velvet, laced and fringed with gold, for the crown, the sceptre, the sword, the great seal and the spurs.[1]

On Monday, June 17th, the King went privately to the Castle of Edinburgh by coach, being the night before his coronation, where he did his devotion, and was feasted by the old Earl of Mar, Captain of the Castle, with a great many Scots and English nobility. The King rested that night in the Castle.

Tuesday, June 18th, at 8 a.m., the King was conducted by the Earl of Errol, Lord Great Constable, and the Earl Marischall, their batons of office in their hands, from the Chamber of Presence to the Great Hall, and there placed in a chair under a cloth of estate by James, Duke of Lennox, Great

(1) Wordsworth, " Coronation of King Charles I."

Chamberlain of Scotland. Then entered all the Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, in crimson velvet robes, and the Lords in scarlet, with the Bishops and six commissioners from the Barons, and as many from the boroughs. George Hay, Viscount Dupleine, Lord Chancellor, addressed the King, praying him to receive the estates under his protection, and defend their liberties, and offering their services to him. To this the King replied.

Then all mounted on horseback, and rode two by two on great horses with rich foot-cloths and caparisons, the Earls, Viscounts, and Lyon King-of-Arms, having their crowns and capes carried by gentlemen on the left side of their horses hard by the stirrup.

First in order came six trumpets, two by two, in scarlet and gold lace.

Lords in scarlet robes.

Bishops in their gowns.

Viscounts
Earls } in crimson velvet robes.

The Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Haddington.

The Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Morton.

The Lord Chancellor, Viscount Dupleine.

Six pursuivants (two by two).

York Herald of England (alone).

Six heralds, two and two, in their coats.

Norroy King-of-Arms of England.

The Master of Requests.

The Bishop of Murray, Almoner for the day.

Lyon King-of-Arms between two Gentlemen Ushers.

The Spurs borne by the Earl of Eglinton.

The Sword borne by the Earl of Buchan.

The Sceptre borne by the Earl of Rothes.

The Crown borne by the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Errol, Great Constable, riding on his right,

and the Duke of Lennox, Great Chamberlain, on his left, the Earl Marischall on Lennox's left.

The King in crimson velvet robes, riding on a rich foot-cloth all embroidered with silver and pearl, his train carried by Lords Lorne, Dalkeith, Annan and Kinfauns, and Sir Robert Gordon, Bart., Vice-Chamberlain to the King.

The Marquess Hamilton, Master of the Horse, riding a jennet of Spain, on a very rich foot-cloth, and leading another richest of all.

The Earl of Suffolk, Captain of His Majesty's Pensioners.

The Earl of Holland, Captain of His Majesty's Guard, followed by yeomen of the guard on foot in liveries, partisans in their hands, swords by their sides.

From the Castle the cavalcade passed to the entry of the great court at Holyrood House, which place had been railed on each side, and covered with blue cloth, whereon His Majesty walked afoot to the stage in the middle of the Church. A canopy of crimson velvet, laced and fringed with gold, was carried over his head by the elder sons of six earls and a viscount, who were supported by six Lords. The carriers were Lords Seaton, Levingstone, Fleming, Binninge, Drumlanricke ; the Lords, supporters, Loudoun, Spynie, Burleigh, Ramsay, Napier, Weymiss.

Entrance.

At the great west door of the Church, the King was met by the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, with other prelates, and the musicians of His Majesty's Chapel Royal in procession. At the entry, the King kneeled down, and was then conveyed by the Dean of the Chapel to a chair placed by the westernmost pillar, where Mr. James Hannay, preacher of the said Church, made a short speech to the King.

To the stage. Anthem : "Behold, O Lord, our Protector." The Crown, the Sceptre and the Spurs were delivered by the bearers to the Chief Gentleman Usher, who laid them on the table appointed. Lyon King-of-Arms carried the Golden Ampull of sacred oil, which had been delivered to him at the door by the Dean of the Chapel, and Lyon delivered it now to the Archbishop, who set it on the Altar.

Procession.

The King having a little reposed himself, descended from the stage to his chair over against the pulpit to hear the sermon, made by David, Bishop of Brechin. His text was 1 Kings i. 39.

The Sermon.

The sermon ended, the King ascended the stage and sat down in his chair of estate.

Then the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, with the Constable and Marischall, and the Lyon King-of-Arms, who went before them, did go to all the corners of the stage, and spake to the people these words :

The Presentation.

"Sirs, I do present unto you King Charles, the rightful heir of the Crown and dignity of this Realm ; this day is by the Peers of the Kingdom appointed for his Coronation, and are you not willing to have him for your King, and become subject to him and his commandments ?" (The King in this time stood up and turned himself, as the Archbishop went from one part of the stage to the other, that he might be seen of the people.)

The people to declare their willingness, answered with great acclamations, crying, "God save King Charles." Then was sung by the Choir the anthem,

"Let thine hands be strengthened, and thy right hand be exalted, let judgment be the preparation of thy seat, mercy and truth go before thy face. Hallelujah." Ps. 89, Ps. 80. *Misericordias Dei.* Glory be to the Father.

The Oblation.

While the anthem was singing, the Archbishop went down to the Altar and there rested him. Then does the King approach the Altar, supported by the Bishop of Dumblane, Dean of the Chapel, on the right hand, and the Bishop of Murray on the left, where he makes his oblation, received in a cup of gold by the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, after which the King kneels at his desk, and the Archbishop says the prayer, "O God, Who dost visit those that are humble."

The prayer being ended, the King sat down in his chair, and the Archbishop going towards him asked if he was willing to take the oath appointed to be given at the Coronation of Kings. His Majesty made his answer that he was willing.

The Oath.

Then the Archbishop questioned him on this wise :

1. To serve God, maintain the true religion of Christ, root out heretics.

2. To rule the people according to the laws and constitutions received within this Realm.

3. To preserve and keep inviolate the rights and privileges of the Crown of Scotland, and not to transfer and alienate the same.

4. To preserve to the Clergy all Canonical privileges.

To all of which the King assented.

Then the King, rising from his chair went to the Altar, where in the sight of all the people, laying his hands on the Bible, he took his oath, and said, "All the things which before I have promised I shall observe and keep, so help me God ; and by the contents of this Book."

After the oath he returned to his chair of estate, and then was sung the hymn *Veni, Creator Spiritus.*

The hymn finished, the King kneeled at his foot-stool, and the Archbishop said the prayer for the King. Then the Litany was sung and said by the Bishop of Murray and Ross, with the special suffrage for the King. Then a prayer for the King.

The Anointing.

The King arose, went to the Altar, and, standing with his back close unto it, was disrobed by James, Duke of Lennox, Lord Great Chamberlain, of his upper garment, his under coat hanging with the loops opened in the places where he was to be anointed. Then comes the King to his chair at the side of the pulpit, and sits down, where there was a canopy supported over his head, all the time of his anointing.

The Archbishop of St. Andrew's first anointed His Majesty on the palms of his hands, and on the crown of his head. During this time the Choir sang the anthem, "Zadok the Priest."

Then the Archbishop said the prayer.

The Archbishop proceeded in the anointing his breast, betwixt his shoulders, both the points of his shoulders, and the bows of his arms.

The anointing finished, the Lord Chamberlain did again close up the loops of His Majesty's clothes, which were opened, the Archbishop reading the Benediction.

This pronounced, a shallow quoif was put upon His Majesty's head by the Bishop of Dumblane, Dean of the Chapel.

The Investiture. After which the King goes to the Altar, and there by the Great Chamberlain is invested with the robes royal of King James IV., at which the Archbishop said the prayer.

Then was the sword by the Gentleman Usher brought to the Lyon, who taking it delivered it to the Archbishop, who laying it on the Altar prayed.

Then did the Archbishop take the sword and deliver it into the King's hand.

Then did the Earl of Errol, Lord Great Constable of Scotland, gird the sword about His Majesty's side.

The King thereafter, returning to the chair wherein he was anointed, had the spurs put on his heels by the Earl Marischall, and the Sandals by the Dean of the Chapel.

After this, the Archbishop taking the Crown in his hand, said the prayer. Then did he put the Crown on the King's head, saying the prayer.

The Crowning.

Then Lyon King-of-Arms, assisted by the Lord Great Constable, caused a Herald call the whole nobility according to their rank, who came three and three, and, on their knees, with their hands touched the Crown on the King's head, and holding up their hands, while these words were read by the Bishop of Dunblane, "So may God help me, and I shall support thee." And when they had done, they all did hold up their hands, and sware to be loyal and true subjects.

Then went the Earl Marischall to the four corners of the stage, having in his hand the Obligatory Oath

of the people, and read the same to Lyon King-of-Arms, who proclaimed it to the people. They, holding up their hands, said "Amen."

Then did the Earls and Viscounts put on their crowns and coronets, and the Lyon his crown; but the Lords and the eldest sons of Earls and Barons of Parliament did continue bare and uncovered.

This thus was performed. Then was the anthem sung by the Choir, "Be strong and of good courage."[1]

After this did the Lord Chamberlain loose the King's sword, wherewith by the Constable he was girt. The King, taking it in his hand, offers it. The Archbishop lays it on the Altar. Then did the Lord Constable redeem it with an offering, and drawing it forth, did carry it naked before the King.

Likewise did the Archbishop take the sceptre, and put it in the King's right hand, with the words prescribed.

Then the Archbishop said the prayer.

The Archbishop blessed the King.

The Enthronisation.

The King kissed the Archbishop and the Bishops assisting. After which the King ascended the stage, attended by divers the prime officers and nobility, the Choir singing *Te Deum*. After which the Archbishop did enthrone the King saying the accustomed formula.

Then went the Lord Chancellor to the four corners of the stage, the Lyon King-of-Arms going before him, and proclaimed His Majesty's Pardon, with the writing of the same under the Great Seal of the Kingdom to all who shall require it, upon which the people made their acclamations, crying, "God Save the King."

(1) Deut. xxxi. 6.

This done, the Lyon did call the Archbishops and Bishops, who kneeled down and did their homage, their hands being betwixt the King's hands, and by the Earl Marischall the words of the oath were read to them. Then did they again kiss the King's left cheek.

Homage.

The King gave the sceptre to John, Earl of Rothes, who carried it, and then went down to his chair. But before he removed, the Lyon King-of-Arms called the Lords temporal, who in like manner kneeling and holding their hands betwixt the King's, the words of homage by the Bishop of Dumblane were read to them. They did all kiss the King's left cheek also. Then did the King arise from his throne, Rothes bearing the sceptre before him, and descended from the stage to his chair of state over against the pulpit.

And then the Archbishop going to the Altar did begin the Communion, the King receiving the Sacrament with great reverence. The Blessing was given.

The Communion.

The King with the crown on his head, in his robes, and sceptre in his hand, returned with his whole train in solemn manner (as he entered) to his palace. The trumpets sounding, were answered by the Castle of Edinburgh with the thundering of great ordnance.

The Return.

And immediately after His Majesty began to march from the stage, then were the pieces of gold and silver, coined for that purpose, flung, all the way as he went, by the Bishop of Murray, almoner for the time, to the people.

This coin had the King's face on the one side, in

his Coronation robes, with this circumscription, *Carolus Dei Gratia Scotiae, Angli : Fran : et Hyb : Rex : Coronat : 18 Junii 1633*, and, on the reverse, a Thistle, flowered full in three great stems, and many small branches issuing from it with this device, *Hinc Nostræ crevere Rosæ*.[1]

On the next day, June 19th, the King opened in person the Scottish Parliament. This session is memorable in that the King put into the hands of the Bishops the choice of the Lords of the Articles. These lords were "an ancient institution in the Scottish Parliament. They were constituted after this manner : The temporal lords chose eight bishops ; the bishops elected eight temporal lords ; these sixteen named eight commissioners of counties and eight burgesses ; and without the previous consent of the thirty-two, who were denominated lords of articles, no motion could be made in Parliament. As the bishops were entirely devoted to the Court, it is evident that all the lords of articles, by necessary consequence, depended on the King's nomination." [2] The significance of King Charles' action in this matter will be seen at once.

Archbishop Laud records : "June 30, I preached to His Majesty in the Chapel at Holy Rood House in Edinburgh." [3] Of this Lord Clarendon writes also : "He preached in the Royal Chapel at Edinburgh (which scarce any Englishman had done before in the King's presence), and principally upon the benefit of conformity, and the reverend ceremonies of the Church, with all the marks of approbation and applause imaginable." [4]

"The King resolved to carry on two designs that

(1) MS. Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.
(2) Hume, v., 65.
(3) Laud : Diary.
(4) Clarendon I., 136.

his father had set on foot, but had let the prosecution of them fall in the last years of his reign. The first of these was about the recovery of the tithes and Church lands ; he resolved to prosecute his father's revocation, and to void all the grants made in his minority. . . . . And that the two great families of Hamilton and Lennox might be good examples to the rest of the nation, he by a secret purchase, and with English money, bought the abbey of Aberbroth of the former, and the lordship of Glasgow of the latter, and gave these to the two archbishopricks. These lords made a show of zeal after a good bargain, and surrendered them to the King. He also purchased several estates of less value to the several sees ; and all men who pretended to favour at Court, offered their Church lands to sale at a low rate." [1] Thus His Majesty took a resolution to rebuild the Cathedral at St. Andrew's by annexing the Abbey to the Archbishoprick of St. Andrew's. The Duke of Richmond and Lennox, the owner, sold it to the King for £1,000. The Earl of Roxburghe put Kelso into the King's hands. His Majesty having, in a Christian and princely way, erected and endowed a bishopric in Edinburgh, he resolved to make the great Church of St. Giles in that city a Cathedral, and to this end gave orders to have the galleries in the lesser Church and the stone wall, which divided them, taken down. On the Sunday following the Coronation, the English service was read in St. Giles'. " While the King was in Scotland he erected a new bishopric at Edinburgh, and made one Forbes Bishop, who was a very learned and pious man ; he had a strange faculty of preaching five or six hours at a time : his way of life and devotion was thought monastic, and his learning lay in antiquity ;

(1) Burnet, 10, 11.

he studied to be a reconciler between papists and protestants, leaning rather to the first, as appears by his *Considerationes Modestæ*."[1]

After a progress to St. Andrew's, Dundee, Falkland, Dunblane, and Stirling, the King returned to Edinburgh by a dangerous passage from Burnt Island on July 10th, and on the 20th of the same month he returned from Scotland to England, having come post from Berwick in four days.

Scotland knew and understood King James I. and VI., though, after his accession to the throne of England, he had paid but one visit to his ancient kingdom. But Scotland never knew nor understood King Charles, nor did he understand Scotland. Both in Scotland and in England King Charles inherited absolute monarchy from his father. King James had changed the Church in Scotland, so far as he was able, from Presbyterianism to Episcopacy. In the year 1618, the King had taken order for both Canons and Liturgy for Scotland, and he had caused the General Assembly of Scotland to pass the Five Articles of Perth ; but the temper of the people and many of their clergy remained stubbornly Calvinistic. King Charles inherited the Five Articles of Perth as a divine mission, which he must carry out. King James' other projects for the redemption of Church lands and for the preparation of a Liturgy for Scotland, King Charles regarded also his own pious obligations. Between the years 1625 and 1633, Scotland had been exempt from civil commotions, although Protestantism in that kingdom was always the main issue. It is true that the Scots had been disturbed by the King's marriage with a Roman Catholic Princess, as also by his known attitude towards the Five Articles of Perth. This anxiety was not diminished by the

(1) Burnet, 12.

ceremonies of the Scottish Coronation at Holyrood in 1633—the rites of the Church of England, the Bishops in Anglican costume, the Altar with its crucifix and lighted candles, before which the Bishops bowed as they passed. King Charles' efforts, and partial success, in restoring to the Church lands that had been wrested from it during the minority of his father, touched the cupidity of the nobility and landed gentry, who had profited by these spoils. The King's placing in the hands of the Scottish Bishops the choice of the Lords of the Articles was regarded as a breach of the privileges of Parliament. In October, 1633, the King prescribed the apparel of the clergy; ordered the English Liturgy to be used in the Chapel Royal, at Holyrood, and in the University of St. Andrew's, the seat of the Metropolitan. The insistence upon the use of the hated surplice raised the cry of "No popery," which there can be little doubt was encouraged by the political Puritans of England. So that, when, on April 19th, 1636, the King issued a proclamation for the imposition of a Book of Canons and the introduction of a new Liturgy for Scotland, the opposition of the Scottish people was almost inevitable. "Yet the very disregard of consequences, which characterised [the King's] action is proof of the sincerity of his convictions."

The Prayer Book for Scotland was drawn up by a committee of Scottish ecclesiastics, who, however, at the King's desire, were in constant consultation with Archbishop Laud, not only as the Primate of all England, and chief counsellour of the King in matters ecclesiastical, but as the foremost liturgical scholar of his day. The Archbishop himself relates, in his own defence, that he was loath to take any part in the preparation of the Scottish book, wishing rather to leave it entirely to the Scottish Bishops and clergy;

but that when he was importuned for his advice, he suggested as strict conformity as possible with the English Prayer Book. This advice was not taken, as the Scottish Commission preferred certain changes for both local and liturgical reasons. Queen Henrietta Maria declares, in her *Abrégé des Revolutions d'Angleterre*,[1] "that when a vast number of books of Common Prayer were prepared to be sent to the Scotch (at the time of the Liturgy being forced on that unwilling people) her husband, glad to take the opportunity of her attention being then forcibly drawn to the subject, brought her one of the Common Prayer Books, and sat down by her for a whole evening and prevailed on her to examine it with him. He pressed on her notice the fact, which no living creature can deny, that, though there is much in the mass book not to be found in the Common Prayer Book, yet there are very few pages in the Common Prayer which are not supplied from the mass book and breviary. Henrietta's prejudices were scarcely neutralized by this conviction, for she adds directly, 'it was this *fatal* book which occasioned the first revolt in Scotland.'" [2]

The formal introduction of the new Liturgy was appointed for July 23rd, 1637, and when the Bishop and the Dean of Edinburgh began the service on that day in St. Giles' Cathedral, the popular riots began, led, as has been so often the case, by fanatical women. The cutty stool of Jeanie Geddes did its work, the service was suspended, and the officiating clergy were obliged to flee for their lives from a raging mob.

During the remaining months of 1637, petitions and supplications were pouring in to the King and

(1) Madame de Motteville, Vol. I., 242, 260, quoted by Miss Strickland.

(2) Strickland, "Queens of England," Vol. VIII., p. 59. *Vide* App. Note B.

the Privy Council against "the fearful innovation" of the Canons and the Liturgy. The final reply of the King was given in February, 1638, to the effect that the Liturgy would not be withdrawn ; and that the petitions against it were illegal. The answer of the Scots was the Scottish National Covenant, which became in the eyes of its promoters and signatories as sacred as the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord. It was signed, February 28th to March 2nd, 1638, on the flat slab of a tombstone in the Greyfriars Churchyard in Edinburgh, by all the Protestant nobles but five, and by all the burghs, except Aberdeen, St. Andrew's and Crail. It was followed by the flight of the Scottish Archbishops and all the Bishops except four who recanted.

"1638, April 29," writes Archbishop Laud in his diary. "The tumults in Scotland about the Service Book offered to be brought in, began July 23, 1637, and continued increasing by fits, and hath now brought that kingdom in danger. No question but there's a great concurrence between them and the Puritan party in England. . . . May 16, Saturday, James, Lord Marquess Hamilton set forth, as the King's Commissioner, to appease the tumults in Scotland. God prosper him, for God and the King." The demands of the Scots were : (1) Abolition of the Court of High Commission and the Bishops' Courts ; (2) Withdrawal of the Canons and the new Liturgy ; (3) A free Parliament and a free Assembly. Meanwhile, preparations for war were made both on the side of the King and of the Scots. In September, a Royal Declaration withdrew the Canons and Liturgy, suspended the Five Articles of Perth, promised a Parliament and an Assembly, and invited signatures to the King's Covenant.

"Nov. 21, Wednesday. The General Assembly

in Scotland began to sit. Nov. 29. The proclamation issued out, for dissolving the General Assembly in Scotland, under pain of treason. Dec. 20. They sat notwithstanding ; and made many strange acts, till Dec. 20, which was Thursday, and then they rose. But have indicted another assembly for July next." [1] This meeting of the General Assembly in November and December, 1638, sat in Glasgow. It was presided over by the King's Commissioner, the Marquess of Hamilton. Among the notables who were present were the Earl of Argyle, who presently became the leader of the opposition to the King in Scotland, James Graham, the great Marquess of Montrose,[2] the leader of the Royalists, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, and Johnston of Warriston. This Glasgow Assembly abolished the Church, and set up Presbyterianism. "They condemned the several assemblies, by which Episcopacy had been sanctioned, released the ministers from the oaths, which they had taken to their ecclesiastical superiors ; deposed and excommunicated the two Archbishops with the greater number of the Bishops, and failed not to renew the expression of their abhorrence against the Canons, Liturgy, the Perth Articles and the High Commission."[1] At the same time, the Covenanters prepared for war with their Sovereign. This they were enabled the better to do, since they received assistance both political and financial from the government of Richelieu in France, and direct encouragement from the English Puritans.

In refusing to obey the order for dissolution, the Glasgow Assembly had made itself practically independent of the King, and the King, unless he were ready to tolerate disobedience to his authority, was

(1) Laud : Diary.
(2) *Vide* App. Note C.

driven to make war upon the Scots. Early in the year 1639, the Covenanters had seized the fortresses of Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Douglas, and Dumbarton. In the north, Montrose, for the Covenant, had defeated the Marquess of Huntley, for the King. And, therefore, the King was forced to enter upon what is known as the First Bishops' War ; which he did, with no more money than he could get from a voluntary contribution.

The Earl of Arundel was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the royal army, which was reckoned at 24,000 foot and 6,000 horse. The Earl of Essex was made Lieutenant-General under Arundel. Sir Jacob Astley was to act as Sergeant-Major-General. The Earl of Holland was given command of the cavalry.

" 1639, March 27, Wednesday. Coronation Day [King's Accession] King Charles took his journey northward against the Scottish Covenanting rebels. God of his infinite mercy bless him with health and success. . . . . April 3. Before the King's going, I settled with him a great business for the Queen ; which I understood she would never move for herself. The Queen gave me great thanks. And this day I waited purposely on her, to give her thanks for her gracious acceptance. She was pleased to be very free with me, and to promise me freedom. April 29. This day the King went from York toward Newcastle ; but stays at Durham for a week at least. May 8, His Majesty encamped two miles west from Barwick by Tweed."[1] At the same time, the royal fleet under Hamilton appeared in the Forth. And in June, the Covenanters' army 20,000 strong, under Alexander Leslie, advanced to Dunse Law, on the Scottish side of the Tweed, to meet the King.

(1) Laud : Diary.

For a little more than a month, the two armies sat and watched one another. There was no fighting. Only one man was killed in this war, and he by accident. The Scots were trained veterans ; the King's men raw recruits. French money paid the Scots. The King's supplies were soon at an end, and his men could with difficulty be held together. But chiefly was the King loath that the blood of his subjects should be spilt. Accordingly, negotiations were entered into between the officers of the two armies. On June 11th, six Covenanters were invited to Lord Arundel's tent, to discuss with English commissioners the questions at variance between them. "Suddenly, before business had begun, the King appeared on the scene, not a little to the discomfiture of the Scotchmen. His Majesty told them he had often been informed that they complained that they could not be heard concerning their grievances, and that now he had come in person to hear from themselves what they wished to say. After prolonged argument, the King returned to his pavilion, and the Scottish delegates, having first been 'feasted' by the Lord General, took their departure. On the 18th June, following further negotiations, the First Bishops' War ended with the Pacification of Berwick." [1] The Scottish army was to be disbanded ; the English fleet was to withdraw from the Firth ; the King's Castles were to be handed back to him ; a free General Assembly was to meet in August, and a Parliament directly afterwards. There should be restored "to every one of His Majesty's subjects liberty, lands, house, good and means." Lord Lindsay, at the Cross in Edinburgh, excepted the Clergy from this provision.

"June 15 and 17, Saturday and Monday. The

(1) "Life of Thomas, Earl of Arundel," pp. 414, 415.

peace concluded between the King and the Scottish rebels. God make it safe to the King and the Kingdom." [1] Both Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Holland thought that the King's army was disbanded too soon. Bishop Burnet, writing long after these events, observes, "The most unaccountable part of the King's proceedings was, that all this while, when he was endeavouring to recover so great a part of the property of Scotland as the Church lands and tithes were, from men that were not like to part with them willingly, and was going to change the whole constitution of that Church and Kingdom, he raised no force to maintain what he was about to do, but trusted the whole management to the civil execution." [2]

"Aug. 1, Thursday. His Majesty came back from his northern journey to Theobalds, and to Whitehall on Saturday, Aug. 3." [1]

Scarcely had the King returned to England, when the Scottish Assembly and Parliament met in Edinburgh, and formally abolished Episcopacy. To the destruction of the Church in Scotland the King would not give his assent, and both sides prepared again for war. "Many varieties, since the Assembly held and ended in Scotland. The bishops thrust out. The Parliament there yet sitting."

"Oct. 11 and 12, Friday and Saturday. The Spanish navy was set upon by the Hollanders in the Downs. The fight began to be hot, when they were past Dover. They were in all 60 sail. The Spaniards suffered much in that fight, not without our dishonour, that they should dare to begin the fight there. But this is one of the effects of the Scottish daring." [1]

In preparing to deal again with the Scots, the King turned now for assistance to his loyal servant,

(1) Laud: Diary.
(2) Burnet, "History of His Own Times," p. 15.

Wentworth, the Lord Deputy of Ireland. Wentworth visited England, was created Earl of Strafford, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

"1639, Dec. 5, Thursday. The King declared his resolution for a Parliament, in case of the Scottish rebellion. The first movers to it were my Lord Deputy of Ireland (the Earl of Strafforde), my Lord Marquess Hamilton, and myself. And a resolution voted at the Board, to assist the King in extraordinary ways, if the Parliament should prove peevish and refuse." [1]

Strafford returned to Ireland, and fulfilled abundantly his part of the agreement at the Council Board. He held a Parliament in Dublin, which voted four subsidies for the King, and he succeeded in raising eight thousand troops in Ireland for the King's service.

The year 1639 closed ominously, for while both England and Ireland were at peace and enjoying the blessings of good government and prosperity, Scotland was in rebellion over the question of religion, a question, which involved not only the King's convictions but also his authority, and to meet which he was obliged at last and reluctantly, after an interval of eleven years, to summon a Parliament at Westminster.

(1) Laud: Diary.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SHORT AND LONG PARLIAMENTS.

1640—1642.

The Short Parliament—Letter of the Scottish Rebels to the King of France—Parliament dissolved—Convocation continued to sit—Mob violence—The Queen retires to Greenwich—Birth of Henry, Duke of Gloucester—The Scottish army enters England—The King goes to the North—The royal army retires before the Scots—Treaty of Ripon—The Scottish army remains in England—Great Council of Peers at York—The Long Parliament—Impeachment of the Earl of Strafford—Arrest of Archbishop Laud—Measures of the Commons—Trial of Lord Strafford—Efforts of the King and Queen to save him—Bill of Attainder—Distress of the King—He signs the Bill, and assents to another, making the dissolution of Parliament dependent upon its own consent—Execution of Strafford—Marriage of the Princess Royal to the Prince of Orange—Revolutionary measures of the Commons—Visit of the King to Scotland—Attacks upon the Church of England—Irish rebellion—The Grand Remonstrance—Falkland, Colepepper and Hyde come over to the King's Side—Attacks upon the Bishops—The five members charged with high treason—The King attempts to arrest them—The royal family leaves Whitehall—The parties—The Parliament seizes the royal arsenals—Departure of the Queen for Holland—Sir John Hotham refuses to yield Hull to the King—Royalists join the King at York—Negotiations between the King and the Parliament—Preparations for Civil War—The Earl of Essex.

"On April 11, 1640," writes John Evelyn in his Diary[1], "I went to London to see the solemnity of His Majesty's riding through the city in state to the Short Parliament, which began the 13th following, a very glorious and magnificent sight, the King circled with his royal diadem and the affections of his people." "April 13, Monday," writes Archbishop Laud, "The Parliament sat down. Called

(1) Vol. I., 13.

about the rebellion of Scotland." In the Commons, Pym at once presented the grievances of the nation, and the resolution was passed to ask the King for redress before granting him any supply. "April 24, Friday. The hot contention in the Lords' House, which should have precedence, the King's supply, or the subjects' grievance. Voted in the Upper House for the King." The King offered to abandon ship-money, if the Commons would grant him twelve subsidies, to the amount of £840,000. Strafford advised the abandonment of ship-money, and to trust the Commons for the supply. This advice, however, His Majesty did not take. A letter from the Scottish rebels, signed by the Earl of Loudoun, and addressed to Louis XIII., asking for French assistance in Scotland, had been intercepted. This was laid now before Parliament, but disregarded. The Commons objected to military charges on the King's sole authority, and were preparing to advise the King to abandon the war with the Scots. The temper of the Lower House was only too evident, and on May 5th, the King dissolved this fourth Parliament of his reign, which had sat only three weeks. "May 5, Tuesday. The Parliament ended, and nothing done. The Convocation continued," granted the King a subsidy, and passed canons asserting the divine right of Bishops. The Puritan party retaliated by attacking Lambeth House with a mob of 500 persons, and St. Paul's, where the Court of High Commission then sat, was entered by some 2,000 sectaries, who tore down the benches, and cried out, "No bishop, no high commission."

In the midst of these disturbances, the King's first measure was to provide for the safety of the Queen, whom he sent to Greenwich with a strong guard. His next measure was to put down the

mob violence of London. And his third, was to prepare to bring the Scots to their obedience. The same want of money confronted him. Parliament had refused him. Spain, France, the Pope, the City of London had refused loans. Only the subsidies of the loyal Convocations of the clergy and the personal contributions of devoted nobles and courtiers supplied the King at length with the means of resuming the war.

"July 22, Tuesday," writes Archbishop Laud, "I christened the King's young son, Henry, at Oatlands. The Queen was happily delivered of him, on Wednesday, being the day of the solemn fast, about 6 of the clock in the evening."

The King had given the command of the English army, which was assembled at York against the Scots, to the Earl of Northumberland, while the Earl of Strafford was called from Ireland to be Lieutenant-General, and Lord Conway was made General of the Horse, and stationed at Newcastle. Strafford, though so ill that he was obliged to travel in a litter, pushed on with indomitable resolution to the English camp in Northumberland ; but he arrived only to hear of the rout of the royal troops at Newburn, and to witness the utter disorder of the army.

"Aug. 20, Thursday. His Majesty took his journey towards the north in haste, upon information that the Scots were entered the Monday before into England and meant to be at Newcastle by Saturday. The Scots entered Aug. 20."

The Puritanical spirit had penetrated the rank and file of the royal army. The soldiers, as they marched north, broke into the Churches, burnt the Communion rails, and removed the altars from the east walls to the middle of the buildings. There was no wish amongst Englishmen to see the Scots beaten. It is not strange, then, that, on August 28th, when

the King's forces under Lord Conway first came into contact with the Covenanters at Newburn-on-Tyne, after a slight resistance, the English should have been routed, and that the rest of the King's troops should have abandoned Newcastle and Durham without striking a blow. Under these circumstances, in order to prevent the advance of the Scots upon him, the King agreed to a treaty, and named sixteen English noblemen to meet with eleven Scottish Commissioners at Ripon. By the Treaty of Ripon, the Counties of Northumberland and Durham were left in the hands of the Scots as a pledge for the payment of £850 a day for the maintenance of their army, until a permanent treaty could be arranged.

"Sept. 24, Thursday. A Great Council of the Lords were called by the King to York, to consider what way was best to be taken to get out the Scots; and this day the meeting began at York, and continued until Oct. 28."

All the Peers could do was to advise His Majesty to summon another Parliament, and accordingly, the writs were issued.

"Oct. 30, I saw His Majesty (coming from his Northern Expedition) ride in pomp and a kind of ovation, with all the marks of a happy peace, restored to the affections of his people, being conducted through London with a most splendid cavalcade, and on the 3rd November following (a day never to be mentioned without a curse), to that long, ungrateful, foolish and fatal Parliament, the beginning of all our sorrows for twenty years after, and the period of the most happy monarch in the world: *Quis talia fando*!" [1]

"Nov. 3, Tuesday. The Parliament began. The King did not ride, but went by water to the King's

(1) John Evelyn, Diary, I., 14.

Stairs, and through Westminster Hall to the Church, and so to the House." [1] This was the opening of his fifth and last Parliament, known as the Long Parliament, which sat until Colonel Pride " purged " it, Dec. 7th, 1648, and Cromwell locked the doors upon it, April 20th, 1653.

The session opened with attacks upon the King's ministers. " Strafford had foreseen this danger, and had entreated the King to dispense with his attending Parliament. ' He should not be able to do His Majesty any service there,' he wrote to him, ' but should rather be a means to hinder his affairs ; in regard he foresaw that the great envy and ill will of the Parliament and of the Scots would be bent against him. Whereas, if he kept out of sight, he would not be so much in their mind, as he should be by showing himself in Parliament ; and if they should fall upon him, he being at a distance, whatsoever they should conclude against him, he might the better avoid, and retire from any danger, having the liberty of being out of their hands, and to go over to Ireland, or to some other place where he might be most serviceable to His Majesty.' But the King being very earnest for Strafford's coming, laid his commands upon him, and told him ' that as he was King of England he was able to secure him from any danger, and that Parliament should not touch one hair of his head.' " [2]

On " Nov. 11, Wednesday, Thomas, Viscount Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, accused to the House of Lords by the House of Commons for high treason, and restrained to the Usher of the House." [1] The grounds of Strafford's impeachment were not set forth until " Nov. 25, Wednesday, [when] he was

(1) Laud, Diary.
(2) Whitelocke, 37, quoted by Guizot, p. 89.

sent to the Tower." [1] Meanwhile, Windebank, the Secretary of State, escaped to France, and the Lord Keeper Finch to Holland. Prynne, Bastwick and Burton were released from their imprisonment, and compensated.

"Dec. 2, Wednesday. A great debate in the House, that no Bishop should be so much as of the Committee for preparatory examinations in this cause [Lord Strafford's] as accounted *causa sanguinis;* put off till the next day.

"Dec. 4, Friday. The King gave way, that his council should be examined upon oath in the Earl of Strafford's case. I was examined this day." [1]

On December 10th. An attack was made upon the government's relaxation of the Penal Laws against the Roman Catholicks in England.

"Dec. 16, Wednesday, the Canons [of the Convocation of May, 1640] condemned in the House of Commons, as being against the King's Prerogative, the fundamental laws of the realm, the liberty and propriety of the subject, and containing divers other things tending to sedition and of dangerous consequence. Upon this I was made the author of them, and a committee put upon me to inquire into all my actions, and to prepare a charge.

"The same morning, in the Upper House, I was named as an incendiary by the Scottish Commissioners; and a complaint promised to be drawn up to-morrow.

"Dec. 18, Friday. I was accused by the House of Commons for high treason, without any particular charge laid against me; which they said should be prepared in convenient time. Mr. Denzell Holles was the man that brought up the message to the Lords. Soon after, the charge was brought into the Upper House by the Scottish Commissioners, tend-

(1) Laud, Diary.

ing to prove me an incendiary ; I was presently submitted to the gentleman-usher ; but was permitted to go in his company to my house at Lambeth, for a book or two to read in, and such papers as pertained to my defence against the Scots."

From their attacks upon the ministers of the Crown, the Parliament passed to the reform of what some of its members considered abuses both in Church and State. A commission was issued by the Commons alone to deface and demolish in Churches images, altars and monuments. On February 16th, 1641, was passed the Triennial Act, which provided that Parliament must be summoned within three years of the dissolution of the last Parliament. On March 1st, the Archbishop of Canterbury was sent to the Tower, where he languished in illness and old age until January 10th, 1645, when his enemies, the Puritans, caused him to be beheaded. On Marah 10th, the Commons brought in a bill to exclude the Bishops from the House of Lords ; which was passed May 1.

But the great and terrible event of this sad year was the destruction by the Commons of that large-hearted servant of King Charles, the Earl of Strafford. The trial opened on March 22nd, in Westminster Hall, with all the solemnity of a State Trial of a great nobleman before his peers. With Pym and others as promoters, Strafford was impeached by the Commons for high treason on twenty-eight counts, chief of which was his obtaining money from the Irish Parliament for an army for the King's support in Scotland, but which the Commons insisted was to be used against England. Both the King and the Queen were present in the royal box at the trial, and listened attentively to Strafford's powerful and triumphant vindication of his policy.

"15th April. I repaired to London to hear and see the famous trial of the Earl of Strafford, Lord Deputy of Ireland, who, on the 22nd of March, had been summoned before both Houses of Parliament, and now appeared in Westminster Hall, which was prepared with scaffolds for the Lords and Commons, who, together with the King, Queen, Prince, and flower of the *noblesse*, were spectators and auditors of the greatest malice and the greatest innocence that ever met before so illustrious an assembly. It was Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England, who was made High Steward upon this occasion ; and the sequel is too well known to need any notice of the event."[1]

Defeated in their attempt to impeach the great Earl, Pym and his fellows, without dropping the impeachment, caused, on the proposal of Sir Arthur Haslerig, a Bill of Attainder against Strafford to be introduced, which passed its third reading in the Commons, by 204 to 59, on April 21st. The Lords hesitated to give their consent to so iniquitous a proposal. Both the King and the Queen exerted themselves to save Strafford. Two days after the Bill of Attainder had passed the Commons, the King wrote to his minister :

The King to the Earl of Strafford.[2]

"STRAFFORD :

"The misfortune that is fallen upon you by the strange mistaking and conjuncture of these times, being such, that I must lay by the thought of employing you hereafter in my affairs ; yet I cannot satisfy myself in honour or conscience without assuring you (now in the midst of your

(1) Evelyn, Diary, I., 15.

(2) Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii., p. 416, given by J. O. Halliwell. "Letters of the Kings of England," vol. ii., pp. 327, 328.

troubles), that upon the word of a King you shall not suffer in life, honour, or fortune. This is but justice, and therefore a very mean reward from a master to so faithful and able a servant as you have showed yourself to be ; yet it is as much as I conceive the present times will permit, though none shall hinder me from being

"Your constant, faithful friend,

"CHARLES R."

"Whitehall, April 23, 1641."

The Queen, together with George Goring, her chamberlain, Arthur Wilmot and Sir John Suckling, formed a plan for bringing up the English army from Yorkshire to overpower the Parliament. The Queen's equerry, Henry Jermyn, was employed as an intermediary. But Goring, moved by jealousy, or by hatred of Strafford, betrayed the design to the Parliament. The King made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain possession of the Tower, and rescue Strafford by force. These well-meant efforts of the Court only aggravated the resentment of the popular party.

"May 1, Saturday. The King came into the Upper House, and there declared before both Houses how diligently he had hearkened to all the proceedings with the Earl of Strafford ; and found that his fault, whatever it was, could not amount to high treason ; that, if it went by bill, it must pass by him ; and that he could not with his conscience find him guilty, nor would wrong his conscience so far. But advised them to proceed by way of misdemeanour ; and he would concur with them." [1] Pym availed himself at once of his knowledge of the policy of the Court party to inflame both Houses of Parliament, as well as the public, against Strafford and the King, on

(1) Laud.

the ground that their liberties and Parliamentary privileges were threatened. And on May 7th, by a vote of 26 to 19, and with 34 lords absenting themselves, the House of Peers passed the Bill of Attainder.

There followed two agonizing days for the King and Queen. The King sent for Holles, Strafford's brother-in-law. "What can be done to save him?" he asked with anguish. Holles advised that Strafford should solicit the King for a reprieve, and that the King should go in person to present his petition to Parliament, in a speech which Holles himself drew up on the spot: at the same time he promised to do all in his power to induce his friends to be satisfied with the Earl's banishment." [1] Meanwhile, the London mob raged around Whitehall, clamouring for Strafford's execution, and mingling with their cries threats of vengeance upon the Queen, if their prey escaped them. The King, who himself knew no fear, was alarmed for the personal safety of his wife. On Sunday, May 9th, he summoned first the Privy Council, and then the Bishops. In his distress, the King put to the spiritual peers his case of conscience. Juxon, Bishop of London, alone counselled the King to obey his conscience. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, introduced the dangerous fallacy of two consciences, official and private, and urged the King to sacrifice an individual to the throne, his conscience as a man to his conscience as a King. In this advice, alas! the other Bishops present, *semper pavidi*, seemed to concur. The King had scarce quitted the council chamber, when this letter was delivered to him, which Strafford in the Tower, realizing the perplexity and danger of his master, had written to release him from his promise of protection.

(1) Guizot, p. 106.

The Earl of Strafford to the King.[1]

"SIRE :

"After a long and hard struggle, I have come to the only resolution befitting me ; all private interest should give way to the happiness of your sacred person, and of the state. I entreat you to remove, by attending to this bill, the obstacle which prevents a happy concord between you and your subjects. Sire, my consent herein shall acquit you more to God than all the world can do beside. To a willing man there is no injury done. By God's grace, my soul, about to quit this body, forgives all men all things, with infinite contentment. I only ask that you would grant to my poor son and his three sisters, as much kindness, neither more nor less, as their unfortunate father shall be deemed to merit, according as he shall one day ere long be held guilty or innocent."

The King gave way, and signed the Bill. At the same time, as if dazed by what he had done, he assented to another Bill, to his own loss, namely, that the existing Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent.

The next day, Monday, May 10, the Secretary of State, Carleton, went, on the part of the King, to inform Strafford that he had consented to the fatal Bill. The earl seemed somewhat surprised, and, for his only answer, raising his hands to heaven, exclaimed, "*Nolite confidere principibus et filiis hominum, quia non est salus in illis.*"[2]

Instead of going in person, as he had arranged with Holles, to beg a reprieve of Parliament, the King

(1) State Trials, III., 15, 16, quoted by Guizot, p. 107.
(2) Whitelocke, 46, cited by Guizot, pp. 107, 108.

sent the Prince of Wales with this letter to the House of Lords :

The King to the House of Lords. [1]

"My Lords :

"I did yesterday satisfy the justice of the Kingdom by passing of the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford ; but mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a King as justice, I desire at this time, in some measure, to show that likewise, by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural course of his life in a close imprisonment, yet so that, if ever he make the least offer to escape, or offer, directly or indirectly, to meddle with any sort of public business, especially with me, either by message or letter, it shall cost him his life, without further press.

"This, if it may be done, without the discontent of my people, will be an unspeakable comfort to me ; to which end, as in the first place, I by this letter do earnestly desire your approbation ; and to endear it the more, have chosen him to carry that of all your House is most dear to me ; so I do desire, that by a conference you will endeavour to give the House of Commons contentment ; likewise assuring you, that the exercise is no more pleasing to me than to see both Houses of Parliament consent, for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the law in so important a case. I will not say that your complying with me in this my pretended mercy, shall make me more willing, but certainly it will make me more cheerful, in granting your just grievances ; but if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say, *fia justitia.*

(1) Harleian MSS., 1769, art. 12.

"Thus again earnestly recommending the consideration of my intentions to you, I rest,

"Your unalterable and affectionate friend,

"CHARLES R."

"Whitehall, May 10, 1641.

"If he *must* die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday."

The following extract from the Parliament Journals will show what effect Charles' supplication had :—

"This letter, all written with the King's own hand, we, the peers, this day received in Parliament, delivered by the hands of the Prince. It was twice read in the House, and, after serious and sad considerations, the House resolved presently to send it by one of the peers' messengers to the King, humbly to signify that neither of the two intentions expressed in the letter could, with duty to us, or without danger to his consort the Queen, and all the young Princes, her children, possibly be advised with being accomplished, and more expressions offered ; His Majesty suffered no more words to come from us, but, of the fullness of his heart, to the observation of justice, and for the contentment of his people, told us, that what he intended by letter was with an '*if* it might be done without discontentment of his people. If that could be, to say again the same that I write, *fiat justitia*, my other intention proceeding out of charity, for a few days' respite, was upon certain information that his estate was so distracted, that it necessarily required some few days' respite for settlement thereof.' Whereunto the lords—their purpose was, to be suitors to His Majesty for favours to be showed to his [Strafford's] innocent children ; and if himself [S] had made any provision for them, that the same might hold. This was

wellliking to His Majesty, who thereupon departed from the Lords. At His Majesty's parting we offered up into his hands the letter which he had sent ; but he was pleased to say, ' What I have written to you, so shall be content it be registered by you in your House ; in it you see my mind—I hope you will use it to my honour.' This, upon return of the Lords from the King, was presently reported to the House by the lord privy seal, and ordered that these lines should go out with the King's letter, if any copy of the letter were desired." [1]

The two Houses read the King's letter twice, and ordered the execution for the next day, May 11th.

Archbishop Ussher was sent for to attend Lord Strafford in the Tower. The Earl had requested a private execution, and a respite until Saturday, the 15th ; but Parliament denied both requests. An offer was made, however, by the Parliament to Strafford, through Denzil Holles, his wife's brother, that, if he would employ his credit with the King to extirpate Episcopacy, his life should be spared. As might have been expected, Strafford refused to entertain this offer.

Lord Strafford requested Archbishop Laud (who was also a prisoner in the Tower), through Archbishop Ussher, " not to fail to be in my chamber window at the open casement the next morning, when he was to pass by it, as he went to execution ; that, though he might not speak with me, yet he might see me, and take his last leave of me. I sent him word I would, and did so. And the next morning, as he passed by, he turned towards me, and took the solemnest leave that I think was ever by any, at distance, taken one of another." [2]

(1) Halliwell, Vol. ii., pp. 329, 330.
(2) Laud.

On Wednesday, May 12th, at 10 a.m., the Earl of Strafford was beheaded on Tower Hill, in the presence of thousands of spectators.

"On the 12th of May, I beheld on Tower Hill the fatal stroke which severed the wisest head in England from the shoulders of the Earl of Strafford, whose crime coming under the cognizance of no human law or statute, a new one was made, not to be a precedent, but his destruction. With what reluctancy the King signed the execution, he has sufficiently expressed ; to which he imputes his own unjust suffering—to such exorbitancy were things arrived." [1]

"Thus ended the wisest, the stoutest, and every way the noblest subject that this nation hath bred these many years. The only imperfections which he had, that were known to me, were his want of bodily health, and a carelessness, or rather roughness, not to oblige any ; and his mishaps in this last action were, that he groaned under the public envy of the nobles, served a mild and gracious prince, who knew not to be, or to be made great ; and trusted false, perfidious and cowardly men, in the northern employment, though he had many doubts put to him about it. This day was after called by divers, *Homicidium Comitis Straffordiæ*, 'the day of the murder of Strafford' ; because when malice itself could find no law to put him to death, they made a law of purpose for it. God forgive all, and be merciful !" [2]

In the midst of these tragedies, it is strange to read that "On the 27th April, came over out of Holland the young Prince of Orange, with a splendid equipage, to make love to His Majesty's eldest daughter, the now Princess Royal," then twelve

(1) John Evelyn, Diary i., 15.
(2) Laud's Diary.

years old ; and that the marriage was subsequently celebrated amid extraordinary Court rejoicings and festivities. But the foreign policy of a great kingdom must be pursued, even when there is keen anxiety and sorrow at home, and the heart of a King is not allowed a long period of mourning.

On May 1st, a letter from the Scots' army was read in the House of Lords, desiring to be gone out of England. It was moved in the Lords to hold a conference with the Commons on the subject. But the Commons, warned by traitors, had risen first. And the Scots remained in England until August.

On May 27th, a bill to abolish Episcopacy (" The Root and Branch Bill ") was introduced into the Commons by Oliver Cromwell and Harry Vane. In the debates, which followed, the measure was supported by Pym, Hampden and St. John, and opposed by Edward Hyde (afterwards Earl of Clarendon), the Viscount Falkland, Digby and Selden, all of whom subsequently came over boldly to the royal cause, though, for the time being, Hyde remained in the Commons, that he might the better support the King and the Church.

During the month of June, the Commons pushed their advantage, and bills, curtailing the royal prerogative and uprooting the traditions of centuries, were passed with the speed of the Convention in France one hundred and fifty years later. The Courts of the Star Chamber and the High Commission, the Councils of Wales and of the North were abolished. Statutes were passed against ship-money, distraint of knighthood ; tonnage and poundage were limited to two months ; the extent of royal forests was fixed. Very bold demands were made to restrict the free action of the King, such as the removal of " evil counsellors " ; the banishment of Roman Catholicks

from Court, the delay of the King's journey to Scotland, the disbanding of the English army, and the control of the military forces of the kingdom to be placed in the hands of the Parliament. It must be noticed that, thus early in the struggle between the King and the Parliament, the three demands were brought forward by the rebellious party, which the King resisted until the end—the abolition of Episcopacy, the abandonment of his friends, and the surrender of the militia.

"Aug. 10. The King went post into Scotland. The Parliament sitting, and the armies not yet dissolved." In this journey, His Majesty was accompanied by a Parliamentary Committee. On August 14th, he entered Edinburgh. Notwithstanding many concessions to the Scots, the King failed to pacify the irreconcilable party of the Covenanters, who, with the Earl of Argyle at their head, opposed themselves bitterly against the Royalists, whose leadership had passed from the Marquess of Hamilton to the gallant young Earl of Montrose.[1]

Meanwhile, in England, persistent attacks were made upon the Church buildings and the use of the Book of Common Prayer. The Puritans were gaining the upper hand in the Commons, and their determination to destroy the Church was clear. On October 18th, the King wrote from Edinburgh to Secretary Nicholas in England, "I hear it is reported, that I am resolved, at my return, to alter the form of the Church government in England to this here; therefore I command you to assure all my servants there, that I am constant for the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, as it was established by Queen Elizabeth and my father; and resolve (by the grace of God) to live and die in the

(1) *Vide* App. C.

maintenance of it."[1] On October 23rd, a second bill to exclude Bishops from the House of Lords was introduced by the Commons.

It was while the King was still in Scotland, on November 1st, when he was on the links near Leith, that news reached him of the Irish rebellion—the rising of the native Irish in Ulster under Sir Phelim O'Neill, and the massacre by them in cold blood of 4,000 English settlers, while some 8,000 more perished from exposure and ill-treatment. "November 1, news came to the Parliament of the troubles in Ireland. The King being then in Scotland, where there were troubles enough also."[2] As the Scottish rebellion had forced on the summoning of the Long Parliament, so the Irish rebellion led to civil war.

The demand of the Commons that the King should employ only such counsellors as should be approved by Parliament led to the fusion of Royalists and Churchmen, which formed the Cavalier party. Between November 8th and 22nd, keen debates were in progress in the Commons between the Royalists and the Puritans as to the measure known as "The Grand Remonstrance," which was in fact a systematic attack upon the reign of King Charles I., an attempt to vindicate the action of Parliament and an incendiary appeal to the people. On November 22nd, the Remonstrance passed the Commons by a majority of eleven only, and was ordered to be printed.

On the 18th of the month, the King had returned to England from Scotland, and on the 25th he made his royal entry into London with the Queen and royal family. "I returned to London; and, on the 25th, saw His Majesty ride through the City after his coming out of Scotland, and a Peace proclaimed,

(1) MS. Sloane, 1467, art. 37.
(2) Laud.

with great acclamations and joy of the giddy people."[1] "November 25, the King at his return from Scotland was sumptuously entertained in London, and great joy on all hands. God prosper it! Here had been a great opportunity for the King to set himself to vindicate his own power, and to leave to the Commons their ancient privileges. But, unhappily, the loyalty inspired by the King's return was allowed to cool,"[2] So the loyal Archbishop in his prison. It was at this juncture that Falkland and Colepepper took office under the King, to be followed later by Hyde.

On December 1st, the Grand Remonstrance was presented to the King, who in his answer pronounced it to be an unconstitutional measure. Owing to the violence offered the Bishops by the mob outside the Parliament House, all of the Bishops, except two, abstained from attendance in the Lords, and twelve of their number, who, at the advice of Williams of Lincoln, had protested against all proceedings in their absence, were committed to the Tower. It was this John Williams, who had given persistent opposition to the High Church party, and whose policy was always that of an opportunist, who was translated at this time from Lincoln to the Archbishoprick of York, as a concession, it would seem, to Puritan prejudices.

The three kingdoms were plunged now into all the distress, which is ominous of the breaking up of a stable government. Scotland was an armed camp, in which the Covenanters were watching with jealous eyes any movement of the Royalists to maintain the King's authority. All Ireland was in revolt with all the bitterness of race and religious hatred, for which that unhappy island has long been notorious.

(1) Evelyn, Diary, i., 40.
(2) Laud.

In England, while the country generally was at peace, there were daily riots at Westminster and Whitehall. Frequent skirmishes there were between the King's body-guard and the citizens. And at this time were given the party names of Cavaliers to the gentlemen of the guards with their flowing locks, and Roundheads to the crop-headed Puritan mob. The leaders of the Commons had stirred up the mob to keep the Bishops from their places in the Lords, and, when the Bishops protested, the Commons impeached them. There were rumours that the Queen herself was to be impeached for Romanist intrigues with the Pope, with the Irish and with the officers of the army.

This state of disorder and strife could not be tolerated. On January 3rd, 1642, the Attorney-General charged Lord Kimbolton, afterwards Earl of Manchester, and five members of the Commons, Hampden, Pym, Holles, Haslerig and Strode, with high treason in respect of their correspondence with the Scottish rebels, and of their attempts to seduce the royal army, and to levy war upon the King. At the same time, the Attorney-General required that a committee should be appointed to examine the charges. Later, on the same day, a serjeant-at-arms entered the House of Commons, and, in the King's name, demanded the arrest of the five members, who were present in their places. No one stirred. The Speaker commanded the serjeant to retire. Both Houses petitioned the King for a guard for Parliament. "I will give an answer to-morrow," said the King.

The next day, January 4th, in the afternoon, at the suggestion of George, Lord Digby, "His Majesty went into the House of Commons, and demanded the persons of Mr. Denzell Holles, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Strode, whom his Attorney had the day

before, together with the Lord Kimbolton, accused of high treason, upon seven articles." The King was "attended only by his own guard, and some few gentlemen, who put themselves into their company in the way." [1] "Commanding all his attendants to wait at the door, and to give offence to no man; himself, uncovered, with his nephew, the Prince Elector, went into the House, to the great amazement of all; and the Speaker leaving the chair, the King went into it," [1] and asked for the accused members. The Speaker, falling on his knees, replied, "May it please Your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am." The King looking around, seeing their places empty, remarked, amidst profound silence, "Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect from you that you shall send them unto me as soon as they return hither. But I assure you, on the word of a King, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way; for I never meant any other; and now, since I see I cannot do what I came for, I will trouble you no more, but tell you, I do expect, as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me, otherwise I must take my own course to find them." He then quitted the chair, his hat still in his hand. The House remained motionless; but from several parts of the House, as the King withdrew, arose the cry, "Privilege! Privilege!" [2]

No one had known of the intention of the King to go to the House of Commons to arrest the five members, but Lord Digby who had suggested it, and the Queen to whom the King had confided it.

(1) Clarendon, ii., 119.
(2) Rushworth, i., 3, 477; "Parliamentary History," ii., 1010; Journals, Commons; Whitelocke, 52—Guizot, 132, 133.

He had parted with her with these words, as he embraced her, "If you find one hour elapse without hearing ill news from me, you will see me, when I return, the master of my kingdom." The Queen remained with her eyes fixed on her watch till that tedious hour had passed away. Then she broke the silence by saying to her attendant, the Countess of Carlisle, "Rejoice with me, for at this hour the King is, I have reason to hope, master of his realm, for Pym and his confederates are arrested before now."[1] Lady Carlisle, who held very close relations with the leaders of the opposition, immediately sent word to her friends of the King's design. This she had the time to do, for the King, on his way to the Parliament House, had been detained by various poor persons who took the occasion to present their petitions to him, and the hour had passed in his reading and discussing with them the particulars of their wrongs. Thus, when at length the King entered the House, the five members had acted already upon the warning of Lady Carlisle. When the Queen learned that it was owing to her heedless confidence with her lady-in-waiting that the King had failed in his purpose of the arrest, she threw herself into the arms of her husband, and avowed her fault, blaming herself with most passionate penitence. Not a reproach did he give her. "For never," said she, "did he treat me for a moment with less kindness than before it happened, though I had ruined him."[1]

The accused members of Parliament had taken refuge in the city, and, when on the next day the King demanded their surrender from the aldermen, it was refused him.

It may be regretted that the King should have

(1) Madame de Motteville, Queen's Narrative, Strickland, viii., 70, 71.

placed himself in the position of invading the inviolable privileges of Parliament, and should have subjected himself, in consequence, to the humiliation of meeting with refusals to his demands. But there had been precedent for his action. Queen Elizabeth had often sent and taken obnoxious members into custody while actually in the House of Commons, for very trifling offences in comparison. And it must not be forgotten that, on the other hand, the leaders of the Commons themselves were guilty of invading the privileges of Parliament by hindering, through mob violence, the attendance of the Bishops in the House of Lords ; that they were encouraging treason with the Scots ; were openly defying the prerogative of the Crown, and, under the guise of legal procedure, were attacking the British Constitution.

After these disorders in the capital, the King was anxious to remove his family to a place of safety. Accordingly, on January 10th, the royal family left Whitehall for Hampton Court, and later for Windsor. The King himself never returned to Whitehall until January, 1649.

Seven weary months of fruitless negotiations were entered into now between the King and Parliament, in the vain effort to avert civil war. The King made great concessions to this end. Only a small majority in the Commons gave Pym and his associates controul of the House. In the Lords, there was no steady majority for the Parliament. The Commons, led by a small group of clever, unprincipled lawyers, became arbitrary, tyrannical and unconstitutional, conducting themselves as a single chamber, without regard for King or peers. The King and the Royalists were the true conservatives, and in the struggle, which was now imminent, they fought not only to preserve the Monarchy, but also to save the Catholick

Church of England, the Constitution of the realm, and the liberties of the people. It is possible that a new Parliament might have solved the difficulties of the situation. But the fatal Act against dissolution stood in the way.

On January 12th, by vote of the Commons, Hull, Portsmouth and the Tower were secured for the Parliament. On the 31st, Sir John Hotham occupied Hull for the Parliament.

The King invited Parliament to draw up a complete statement of its grievances, and thus present them to him all at once, promising to do right to them without the delay of a single day, and thus put an end to their contentions (January 20th). The House of Lords received this message with joy ; but the Commons demanded the right to appoint the officers to the command of the Tower, of the royal fortresses and of the militia ; which the King, unless he were to deprive himself of all vestiges of sovereignty, could not but refuse. On February 6th, it was " voted in the Lords' House, that the Bishops shall have no votes there in Parliament. The Commons had passed that Bill before." This was the last Bill, to which King Charles I. gave his royal assent. And he gave it reluctantly, urged by the Queen, on the advice of Falkland and Colepepper, against the advice of Hyde. At the same time, the King promised to refer to Parliament all questions as to the Church and the Liturgy.

On February 10th, the Court removed from Windsor to Hampton Court, and then to Greenwich. " Feb. 11. The Queen went from Greenwich toward Dover, to go into Holland with her daughter, the Princess Mary, who was lately married to the Prince of Orange his son. But the true cause was the present discontents here. The King accom-

panied her to the sea." [1] When the Queen embarked on February 25th, "As the wind was favourable for coasting, her husband rode four leagues, following the vessel along the windings of the shore." [2] Then he turned to the grim business before him, and on March 2nd, against the remonstrance of Parliament, he passed to the north by Theobalds and Newmarket. At both places, Commissioners from the Parliament overtook him. The question of the militia was that with which they were chiefly concerned. At Newmarket the King refused finally the request of the Commons to place in their hands the charge of the fortified places and the command of the militia. "No, by God! not for an hour; you have asked that of me in this which was never asked of a King, and with which I would not trust my wife and children." The conference proceeded no further; the Commissioners returned to London; and the King continued his journey to York.[3]

Parliament resolved that the kingdom should be put in a posture of defence—as against the King! Here, says von Ranke, the quarrel became irreconcilable. The command of the fleet was seized by the Commons, and the Puritan Earl of Warwick was made their admiral. On April 23rd, the King rode to Hull and demanded admittance into the town; which was refused him by Sir John Hotham, the Parliamentary governor. The same day the King addressed a message to Parliament demanding justice for such an outrage. Parliament replied by adopting all that Hotham had done. This answer was equivalent to a declaration of war. "May 15. All things grew higher between the King and the Parliament. God send a good issue!"

(1) Laud.
(2) Madame de Motteville, vol. i., p. 269; Strickland, viii., 72.
(3) *Vide* Appendix, Note D.

Falkland, Spencer, Hyde, Colepepper, thirty-five peers and more than sixty members of the House of Commons withdrew from Parliament, and joined the King at York. The remnant of the Parliament deprived the Royalist absentees of their seats. It has been estimated that one-third of the members of the Commons withdrew from that House, and that three-quarters of the members of the Lords were loyal to the King, or else neutral. Parliamentary Commissioners were sent to reside at York, to watch the proceedings of the Royalists, and to report them to Westminster. Meanwhile, both sides began to raise forces, the Parliament through the lord-lieutenants of the counties, their own appointments, and the King, through Commissions of Array.

On June 2nd, nineteen proposals of Parliament were sent to the King at York. They included demands for Parliamentary sanction to appointments to the Council ; Parliamentary control over the education and marriage of the royal children ; Parliamentary control over the command of the militia ; Parliamentary control of Church reform. "Reading the proposals, the King's eyes flashed with anger, his countenance was suffused with a deep crimson. 'These being past,' he said, 'we may be waited on bare-headed ; we may have our hand kissed, the style of "majesty" continued to us, and "the King's authority, declared by both Houses of Parliament," may still be the style of our commands ; we may have swords and maces carried before us, and please ourself with the sight of a crown and sceptre (and yet even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew was dead) ; but as to true and real power, we should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign

of a King.'" [1] He broke off all further negotiation. He could do nothing else. Indeed, had the King been willing to consider such demands, the Royalist-Church party, which stood with him to a man, would not have consented.

The King appealed for aid to Scotland, and to Holland in vain. The only money at his disposal was that which the Queen had raised in Holland on the crown jewels, which she had carried with her, and the contributions of the Royalists, who, not content with offerings of specie, melted down their family plate for the King's service. The loyal Universities of Oxford and Cambridge did the same. The Earl of Arundel raised £54,000 for the royal cause.

On July 9th, the formal and direct question of civil war was put to the House of Commons. One voice alone, that of Sir Benjamin Rudyard was raised in a noble speech, in opposition. Only forty-five members of the Commons shared the scruples of Rudyard in the vote, as against one hundred and twenty-five for war. In the House of Peers, the Earl of Portland alone protested. The formation of an army was decreed, in the hypocritical phrase, "for the defence of the King and the Parliament," and the Earl of Essex was made Captain-General. This nobleman was at this time fifty years of age. He was the son of the Earl of Essex, beloved and beheaded by Queen Elizabeth in 1601. He had been divorced from his wife, that she might marry Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, in 1614. He had borne, at King Charles' Coronation, the sword called *Curtana* of mercy before the King. Together with many others his peers, Essex had laid his hand upon the crown on His Majesty's head, protesting to spend his blood to maintain it to him and his lawful heirs.

(1) Rushworth, i., 3, 728, quoted by Guizot, 158.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GREAT REBELLION.

1642—1643.

Summary of events during the first half of 1642—The King raises his standard at Nottingham—Efforts at accommodation—Party divisions of England—The royal army—The army of Parliament—Battle of Edge Hill—Royal advance upon London—Battle of Brentford—Royal head-quarters at Oxford—Treaty of Oxford—Return of the Queen—Plan of campaign—Death of Hampden—Royalist successes—Meeting of the King and Queen—Siege of Gloucester—Raised—Departure of the Queen—Battle of Newbury—Progress of the war—Alliance of Parliament with the Scots—Irish affairs.

It has seemed well to entitle these two chapters "The Great Rebellion," and to limit them to the period between the year 1642, when the Parliament first took up arms against the Sovereign, and the year 1646, when the King surrendered himself to the Scots, although the organised rebellion actually began with the opening of the Long Parliament in November, 1640, and the seeds of the Puritan revolution had been sown as far back as the reign of Edward VI. (1547—1553). The year 1642 opened with a succession of overt acts of rebellion on the part of the Commons. In January, they had seized certain royal fortresses. In March, they had demanded the power of appointment of officers of the militia, and they had gained controul of the King's fleet. In April, by order of Parliament, Sir John Hotham had denied the King entrance into his own

From a painting by Sir Anthony Van Dyck in the National Gallery. By permission of the Trustees.

KING CHARLES I.

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fortress and arsenal of Hull. In May, the Houses had appointed lieutenants of the several counties, with power to call out the militia. By July, the Parliamentary army had been raised, and the Earl of Essex had been appointed Captain-General. It had been the height of folly, if the King on his side had neglected preparations for the trial by arms which was now plainly approaching. Accordingly, in the beginning of the summer, while the Court was at York, the King "published a declaration, that had been long ready, in which he recapitulated all the insolent and rebellious actions which the two Houses had committed against him : and declared them 'to be guilty ; and forbade all his subjects to yield any obedience to them' : and, at the same time, published his proclamation ; by which he 'required all men, who could bear arms, to repair to him at Nottingham, by the twenty-fifth of August following ; on which day he would set up his royal standard there, which all good subjects were to attend.'" [1] "According to the proclamation, upon the 25th day of August, the standard was erected, about six of the clock in the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day. The King himself, with a small train, rode to the top of the Castle-hill, Varney, the knight-marshall, who was standard bearer, carrying the standard, which was then erected in that place, with little other ceremony than the sound of drums and trumpets : melancholy men observed many ill presages about that time. There was not one regiment of foot yet levied and brought thither ; so that the trained bands, which the sheriff had drawn together, was all the strength the King had for his person, and the guard of the standard. There appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation ; the arms and

(1) Clarendon, vol. iii., bk. v., pp. 171, 172.

ammunition were not yet come from York, and a general sadness covered the whole town, and the King himself appeared more melancholic than he used to be. The standard itself was blown down, the same night it had been set up, by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again in a day or two, till the tempest was allayed. This was the melancholy state of affairs when the standard was set up." [1]

Even after the royal standard had been displayed, the King shewed his reluctance at entering into war with his subjects and his readiness to find some means of accommodation, by sending to the Parliament the Earl of Southampton and Sir John Colepepper to treat for peace. But this the Parliament refused, unless the King would take down his standard and recall his proclamation, which made them traitors.[2]

A rough division of England and Wales at this time would shew that the northern and western counties were for the King, the southern and eastern, including London, for the Parliament. The Earl of Lindsey was given supreme command of the royal army, with Prince Rupert, second son of the King's sister, the Queen of Bohemia, a gallant youth in his twenty-third year, General of the horse. The Earl of Newcastle, who commanded in the north, raised a regiment, called the "White Coats," 3,000 strong.

The excellent strategy, disclosed in the royal campaigns of 1642, 1643, 1644 and 1645, is attributed to a Scotsman, Patrick Ruthven, who had served under Gustavus Adolphus, and who had been governor of Edinburgh Castle for King Charles in 1639—1640. He was created successively Lord Ettrick, Earl of Forth and of Brentford. He fought at Edge Hill, commanded the royal forces at Brentford, was with

(1) Clarendon, vol. iii., bk. v., pp. 179, 180.
(2) Flinders Petrie, "Some Sources," pp. 82, 83.

the King at Oxford, took part in the sieges of Bristol and Gloucester, and the first Battle of Newbury and the Battle of Cropredy Bridge. At the second Battle of Newbury he was wounded.

In September, the King moved to Shrewsbury to hold the Severn Valley, and nobles and gentry with their followers and tenants flocked in such numbers to his standard, that he found himself presently at the head of an army of 10,000 men. The main strength of the royal army lay always in its magnificent cavalry, which, composed chiefly of the nobility and their retainers, accomplished horsemen and swordsmen, and splendidly mounted on their own horses, led by the most brilliant and dashing cavalry leader of that or any age, and animated by a devoted loyalty to the person of their Sovereign and the cause of Throne and Church, which he represented, bore down before them in their charges all the opposition which the burghers and the trained-bands of London could attempt to offer. As the war proceeded, and the royal army became more fully organised, each regiment was provided with a Chaplain. In 1643, a special fast for the success of the King's arms was observed on the second Friday of each month. Towards the end of the war, a "Soldier's Prayer Book" was issued by the King's command. Among the Royal Army Chaplains were Thomas Fuller, author of the "Worthies" and the "Church History," John Pearson, afterwards Bishop of Chester, and author of the well-known "Exposition of the Creed"; and Jeremy Taylor, author of "Holy Living" and "Holy Dying."

The army of the Parliament was reckoned at some 20,000 men, drawn mostly from the middle and lower classes of the towns, well-armed, but ill-trained, and without the experience of horsemanship, for

which the Cavaliers were famous. Fanaticism supplied in a measure to the Puritans the spirit of personal loyalty, which animated the Royalists. It was left for Cromwell to combine fanaticism and strict discipline in his invincible Ironsides. From first to last, the marches of the Puritan army could be traced by the vestiges of its iconoclasm. The Cathedrals of Ely and Lichfield and many another glorious Church suffered at the hands of these devastating hordes. "The studious cloister's pale," "the embowèd roof, With antique pillars massy proof, And storied windows richly dight, Casting a dim religious light," "The pealing organ," "the full-voiced quire,"—all were silenced, or shattered, by "the army of the saints." The exquisite Lady Chapel of Ely Cathedral is an instance of their work. Not a painted window, not a decorated canopy or niche, not a statue, remains. "They brake down the carved work thereof with axes and hammers." A Royalist apothegm of the times suggests one difference at least between the two armies: "In our army, we have the sins of men, drinking and wenching; but, in yours, you have the sins of devils, spiritual pride and rebellion." Or, as Chillingworth put it, "Publicans and sinners on the one hand; on the other, Scribes and Pharisees."

At Shrewsbury, the King determined to march on London, and, by a bold and decisive stroke, to end the war. To bar the approach to London, Essex had placed garrisons at intervals between Northampton and Worcester, and on September 9th he set forth from Worcester to meet the King. But the King broke through the line of defence, outmarched Essex, and continued his advance upon London. It was not until Sunday, October 23rd, that Essex overtook the King at Keinton Field, better known as Edge

Hill, in Warwickshire, and the King turned to meet him. At midnight of Saturday, the 22nd, while the King rested at the village of Edgcot in Northamptonshire, Prince Rupert sent him word "that the body of the rebels' army was within seven or eight miles, and that the head-quarters was at a village called Keinton on the edge of Warwickshire; and that it would be in His Majesty's power, if he thought fit, to fight a battle the next day."[1] The King gave orders immediately "that the whole army should draw to a rendezvous on the top of Edge Hill," about two miles away from Keinton.

On the morning of the 23rd of October, when the rebels were beginning their march, they observed a body of horse on the top of the hill, and the sight both surprised and alarmed them, for they had not been conscious that the royal army was so near them, and though they were well supplied with equipment and provisions, they were lacking two of their strongest regiments of foot, and one regiment of horse, which, with John Hampden, were a day's march behind with the ammunition. The Parliamentary army, though thus diminished, was still superior in numbers to the army of the King, which might be reckoned at some 14,000 men, and the Earl of Essex drew out his forces upon the meadows before Keinton where he awaited the attack of the Royalists.

Prince Rupert with the cavalry had occupied the hill early in the morning; but the infantry had been quartered the night before some seven or eight miles away, and it was one o'clock of the afternoon before the royal army could march down the hill to attack the enemy. The King himself gave the signal for the advance by firing a cannon with his own hand.

(1) Clarendon, iii., bk. vi., pp. 255, 256. Cf. S. R. Gardiner, "History of the Great Civil War," i., pp. 42—51.

The centre was held by the infantry with the Lord Lindsey on foot at their head, next him being the King's guards with the King's standard carried by Sir Edmund Verney in their midst. Prince Rupert commanded the right wing of the horse, and Mr. Wilmot, Commissary-General of the horse, supported by Sir Arthur Aston, held the left wing. The royal guards besought His Majesty "that he would give them leave to be absent that day from his person, and to charge in the front among the horse." The granting of their request left both the person of the King and the standard exposed to the gravest peril.

It was nearly three o'clock in the afternoon, when the battle began. As Prince Rupert with the right wing advanced against the enemy's left, in which the bulk of the enemy's cavalry was placed, Sir Faithful Fortescue with his whole troop of horse came over to the Prince. This defection from their ranks, together with the charge of the royal cavalry, struck terror into the enemy's left. They wheeled about and fled headlong from the field, and were pursued for more than two miles by Prince Rupert. The same success attended the charge of Wilmot and the royal left wing. The reserve under Sir John Byron joined also in the pursuit. So that none of the royal horse now remained on the field to support the infantry. At this juncture, the enemy's reserve of cavalry attacked the King's centre, and did great execution, wounding and taking prisoner the General, Lord Lindsey, and capturing the royal standard, when its bearer, Sir Edmund Verney, had been killed. The standard, however, was recovered by an officer of the royal horse. Indeed, the King himself, and his two sons, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, might have been taken prisoners with little difficulty, had the enemy bestirred themselves.

The battle of Edge Hill would have been a great victory for the King, if his cavalry had been more restrained. Both wings of the enemy had been routed, but their centre remained firm, while the King's centre sustained much loss. The action was indecisive, though the advantage lay with the King. The dead were computed at five thousand, of which two-thirds belonged to the Parliamentary army, scarcely a third to the King. Both armies remained under arms on the field of battle during the night of the 23rd and the whole of Monday, the 24th. Then Essex retreated to Warwick, while the King took up his former quarters at Edgcot, where on the Wednesday he found his numbers greater than he expected. He then proceeded on his march towards London, taking Banbury on the way. He rested at his own house at Woodstock, and then with his whole army entered Oxford, where he was received with joy and acclamation, and where, during the period of the war, he placed the seat of his civil government and his military head-quarters. The town of Reading was occupied also for the King. These successes of the King raised his prestige throughout the country. London was alarmed. Negotiations were entered into between the two parties for a peace, which it is possible might have been made at this time; but Prince Rupert, without any direction from the King, advanced with his cavalry to Hounslow, and then begged the King that the royal army might support him. This, under the circumstances, it was necessary for the royal army to do, for the forces of the Parliament were so close to Prince Rupert's position, that, without succour from the King, the Prince had been cut off. Accordingly, the King marched with his whole army to Brentford, where a hot action was fought, with victory for the royal

forces. "12th November was the battle of Brentford, surprisingly fought; and to the great consternation of the City, had His Majesty (as it was believed he would) pursued his advantage."[1] "Nov. 12, Sunday. A fight about Brainford [Brentford]; many slain of the parliament's forces, and some taken prisoners. Such as would not serve the King were sent back with an oath given them. The fight is said to begin casually about billetting. Since this, voted in the House, for no accommodation, but to go on, and take all advantages."[2] The Parliament accused the King of treachery in marching towards London with a view to taking it, while negotiations were in progress. The army of Essex, increased by all the trained bands of London, was concentrated promptly against the King's position. During a whole day the two armies faced one another at Turnham Green. The Roundheads made no attack, although they outnumbered the royal army by five to one, but contented themselves with playing their cannon upon the King, to the loss of four or five horses, and not one man. Some have thought that, had the King on this day with his inferior force, charged the enemy, he could have won his way into London, and thus concluded the war. No doubt Henry of Navarre would have done this. But King Charles was of a different temper. He considered the desperate risk to which his small army would be exposed in any such attempt, and in the evening of the 13th of November, he drew off in good order to Kingston, and went himself to Hampton Court, and a day later to Oatlands. Then being informed of the imputation of treachery brought against him by the Parliament, and that they would entertain no proposition of peace, while his army lay so near

(1) Evelyn, i., 40, 41.
(2) Laud.

London, he gave orders for all his forces to retire to Reading. The King then sent a message to the two Houses, in which he "told them again of the reasons and circumstances of his motion towards Brentford; of the Earl of Essex's drawing out his forces towards him, and possessing those quarters about, and almost hemming him in, after the time that the Commissioners were sent to him with the petition; that he had never heard of the least overture of the forbearing all acts of hostility, but saw the contrary practised by them that advance; that he had not the least thought or intention of mastering the City by force, or carrying his army thither; that he wondered to hear his soldiers charged with thirsting after blood, when they took above five hundred prisoners in the very heat of the fight."[1]

With the beginning of winter, the King, after placing strong garrisons in Reading, Wallingford, Banbury and other outlying posts, and making Abingdon the head-quarters of his cavalry, withdrew the bulk of his army into winter-quarters in Oxford. The greater part of the winter and the spring of 1643 was consumed by fruitless negotiations between the two sides. One at least of the arguments used in the Parliamentary debate should be noticed: "That all men knew the inclination and affection the King had to the Church, and therefore, if he saw that in danger, he would rescue it at any price, and very probably their departing from their proposition of the Church, might be the most powerful argument to the King, to gratify them with the militia." By these artifices, and especially by concluding obstinately, "that no proposition should be sent to the King for peace, till the bill for extirpation of Bishops was passed the Lords' House (where it would

(1) Clarendon, iii., bk. vi., p. 311.

never otherwise have been submitted to), they had their desire."[1]

"1643, Jan. 26. The Bill passed the Lords' House for abolishing Episcopacy.

"Feb. 14. I received a letter, dated Jan. 17, from His Majesty, to give Chatham to Mr. Reddinge, or lapse it to him."[2]

And, meanwhile, active preparations were in progress for the campaign of the new year. The Parliament levied a tax on property and income throughout the whole kingdom. The Association of the Eastern Counties—Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Essex, Hertford, Huntingdon, Bedford and Lincoln—was formed for the Parliament. Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland were united for the royal cause. The Earl of Essex lay with his army between London and Windsor. The King, as we have said, made Oxford the head-quarters of his own army, while he had a second army under Sir Ralph Hopton in Cornwall, and a third army under the Earl of Newcastle in Yorkshire. The plan of campaign was that, while the King's army should attack London, Hopton should advance through the southern counties into Kent, and Newcastle through the eastern counties into Essex. Hopton and Newcastle would then be able to seize both banks of the Thames below London, and thus to interrupt the commerce of the city, without which it would be impossible for the city to hold out long.

By indefatigable efforts in Holland, Queen Henrietta Maria had sent repeatedly to her husband supplies of arms and ammunition, besides veteran officers to train his forces. With the gallantry of the true Cavalier, the King had promised the Queen that he

(1) Clarendon, iii., bk. vi., p. 379.
(2) Laud.

would never make peace without her, that is, that, since she had been calumniated as being the cause of the rupture between him and his people, she might also have in the eyes of the public the merit of effecting the reconciliation. In February, 1643, the Queen took ship for England, and eluding the vigilance of Batten, the Roundhead admiral, landed safely on February 22nd, at Bridlington Quay [Burlington] on the coast of Yorkshire. Enraged at losing his prey, Batten anchored four of his ships and a pinnace in the roadstead, and, like the Germans at Scarborough on the same coast 260 years later, fired more than one hundred shots at the houses on the quay, in one of which the Queen was lodged. She was obliged to leave her bed, and find shelter until daylight behind the nearest hill. No action of the war was condemned more bitterly than this brutal attack upon the Queen of England. The Earl of Newcastle hastened to Burlington and with his army escorted her to York, where she remained for four months, winning the hearts of the inhabitants by her affability, and quickening their loyalty by her words and example. Sir Hugh Cholmondely delivered Scarborough Castle to the Queen, and the Hothams, father and son, who, in the previous year, had defied the King himself at Hull, resolved to return to their allegiance.

The Royalist reaction in Yorkshire alarmed the Parliament. The question of a peace was debated, and urged especially by Sir Benjamin Rudyard. There were two divisions in the Commons. On the first, the vote against peace was carried by only 76 to 73 ; on the second, by only 86 to 83. The leaders were obliged to give way. On March 20th, five Commissioners departed for Oxford, charged to discuss for twenty days, first, a suspension of arms, and then a treaty. " March 20. The Lord of Northumberland,

Mr. Parpoint, Sir John Holland, Sir Wm. Ermine and Mr. Whitlocke went from both Houses to treat of peace with His Majesty. God of His mercy bless it and us!"[1] This is known as the Treaty of Oxford, though by the term "treaty" must be understood no more than a discussion, or conversation, between the representatives of the conflicting parties. The treaty opened with much ceremony; but when the negotiations began, it soon became clear that neither the King nor the Parliament could accept each other's conditions, for they were the same as those which had been rejected before the beginning of the war. On April 15th, Parliament recalled its Commissioners, and the treaty came to an end.

In the same month Essex invested Reading, which capitulated ten days later. In May the King received a large convoy from York. But, before resuming hostilities, he made another offer of accommodation to the Parliament. By the Lords his offer was received with respect. The Commons, in defiance of all rules of war, imprisoned the royal messenger, and Pym, in the name of the Commons, impeached the Queen of high treason against the Parliament and kingdom. The Lords declined the task of sitting in judgment on the wife of their sovereign, and the Commons, eight months later, were obliged to yield, and drop the prosecution. "May 23. This day the Queen was voted a traitor in the Commons' House."[1] Mention only need be made of a Royalist plot in which Edmund Waller, the poet, and others were engaged, to introduce the King's troops secretly into London. On May 31st the plot was discovered, and the leaders were seized and put to death, Waller alone escaping capital punishment.

(1) Laud.

The war was carried on accordingly with vigour. On June 19th, at Chalgrove Field, John Hampden was defeated by the King's forces, and mortally wounded ; and the main Parliamentary army became much disorganized.

"The King, on hearing the news of Hampden's wound, thought at once of embracing so good an opportunity of conciliating, if possible, this powerful adversary, who had done him so much harm, but who was thought capable of repairing everything. Doctor Giles, a country neighbour of Hampden's, was then at Oxford ; the King told him to send to Hampden, as if from himself, to see how he was, for that, if he had no surgeon, he would send him one of his own. Dr. Giles undertook the King's commission ; but, when his messenger arrived on the 24th of June, he found Hampden almost lifeless. He was told, however, who it was had sent to inquire for him, and with what intention. A powerful agitation was seen to pervade his whole frame ; he appeared about to speak, but could not, and died a few moments after."[1]

In the south-west Hopton defeated the Parliamentarians at Stratton in Cornwall, and, advancing eastward, defeated another rebel army under Sir William Waller at Lansdown near Bath, and again he-routed the same commander at Roundway Down near Devizes in Wiltshire. By the end of July, Taunton, Bridgewater and Bath had surrendered at the first summons of the royal forces. Bristol, the second city in the kingdom, yielded to the first attack of Prince Rupert on July 25th. During August, Dorchester, Weymouth, Portland, Barnstaple, Bideford, submitted to the King. Hopton was ready now to push on into Kent.

(1) Warwick Memoirs, and Clarendon, quoted by Guizot, 188.

In the north also there had been success for the royal arms. On June 30th, the Earl of Newcastle had defeated the Fairfaxes, father and son, at Adwalton Moor, near Bradford. Sir John Hotham was on the point of surrendering Hull to the Queen. Lord Willoughby could no longer defend Lincolnshire against the Earl of Newcastle, who, representing the royal cause in the north, with the added *prestige* of the presence of the Queen, commanded a very considerable army. Large numbers of Roman Catholics had attached themselves to Newcastle's army, which was called by the Puritans, with a view to exciting religious hatred, " the army of papists and the Queen." As an offset to Newcastle's victory at Adwalton, Cromwell with the army of the eastern counties won soon afterwards the battle of Gainsborough. It is possible, however, that the King's plan for starving London into submission might have been realised, had not three important towns in three very different quarters been held still by the enemy. Plymouth threatened the south-west ; Gloucester, the Welsh marches ; and the northern army was unwilling to march south until it could reduce Hull, for the Parliament had been warned of the Hothams' readiness at last to surrender the town to the Queen.

In the presence of the continued success of the royal cause, the peace party at Westminster was gaining ground. The Commons had issued a Great Seal of their own, completely ignoring both King and Lords. The House of Lords was irritated with the Commons, and demanded peace. The motion was actually put in the Commons, and carried by a vote of 81 to 79. The war party called for another division. The motion was complied with ; the House again divided ; eighty-one members persisted in demanding peace ; but the tellers on the other

side declared their own numbers to be eighty-eight ; the Speaker immediately announced this result, and the partisans of peace left the House in utter stupefaction and fear. Two days later, a mob of several thousand women surrounded Westminster Hall, sending in a petition for peace. They were forced to withdraw by a squadron of horse. The war-party had won. But it was already a common saying, that the King had been reproached with nothing which Parliament itself had not in its turn been guilty of.

The Queen had been detained many months in Yorkshire, owing to the fact that Roundhead forces were operating in the midland counties. But at last the rebels were beaten out of the field, and the Queen advanced in June, 1643, to Newark. The King, accompanied only by his own regiment and by Prince Rupert's horse, set out to meet his wife, and on July 13th, in the vale of Keinton, near his own victorious field of Edge Hill, the meeting took place. Together the royal pair made their triumphant entry into Oxford, and "for a few months that beautiful city was the seat of the English Court, over which the Queen presided. There all that was loyal, refined, and learned, gathered round the royal family, and, for a while, hope existed that the discontents of the people would be finally silenced by force of arms."[1] "The King's affection to the Queen," says Lord Clarendon,[2] "was a composition of conscience, love, generosity, and gratitude, and all those noble affections which raise the passion to the greatest height ; insomuch that he saw with her eyes and determined by her judgment. Not only did he pay her this adoration, but he desired that all men

(1) Strickland, vol. viii., p. 84.
(2) "Life of Clarendon," vol. i., pp. 185, 186 ; Strickland, viii., 84.

should know that he was swayed by her, and this was not good for either of them. The Queen was a lady of great beauty, excellent wit and humour, and made him a just return of the noblest affections, so that they were the true ideal of conjugal attachment in the age in which they lived." "When the Queen was admitted to the knowledge and participation of the most secret affairs (from which she had been carefully restrained by the Duke of Buckingham), she took great delight in examining and discussing them, and from thence forming judgment of them, in which her *passions* (prejudices) were always strong. She had felt so much pain in knowing nothing, and meddling with nothing, during the time of the great favourite, that now she took no pleasure but in knowing all things, and disposing of all things, as he had done. Not considering that the universal prejudice that great man had undergone was not in reference to his person but his power, and that the same power would be equally obnoxious to complaint, if it resided in any other person than the King himself. Nor did she more desire to possess this unlimited power longer than that all the world should notice that she was the entire mistress of it; and it was Her Majesty's misfortune (and that of the kingdom) that she had no one about her to advise and inform her of the temper of the people."[1]

To return to the course of the war in the summer of 1643. Until the royal armies of the west and the north could unite in the blockade of London, the King determined upon the capture of Gloucester; which, if it should be achieved, would place the western midlands completely under his control. On August 10th, he appeared in person at the head of his army on the hills some two miles from the

(1) "Life of Clarendon," ibid.

city. Here he paused, while he sent forward a trumpet with a summons to the city to surrender. Immediately there returned, with the King's trumpeter, two citizens of the town, "with lean, pale, sharp and bald visages, indeed faces so strange and unusual, and in such a garb and posture, that at once made the most severe countenances merry, and the most cheerful hearts sad; for it was impossible such ambassadors could bring less than a defiance. The men without any circumstances of duty, or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said, 'they had brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester to the king.'"[1] They then presented a brief written reply, to the effect they would keep the city, subject to the King's commands, "*signified by both houses of Parliament.*"[1] After this, there was no course left the King, but to assault the city or to starve it into submission. To spare Gloucester from the fate of Bristol, the King chose the latter alternative, and sat down before the city for the long, tedious process of a siege. But the royal army was ill-equipped for such an undertaking, and provisions were lacking. While, within the city, there was a fair supply both of food and the munitions of war, and Massey, the military governor, possessed both skill and obstinacy in the defence of his charge. It is probable, however, that in time the persistence of the besiegers would have reduced the city, had not the peril of Gloucester alarmed London and the Parliament to such an extent, that the Earl of Essex was despatched to its relief with a well-furnished army of between 12,000 and 14,000 men. The King was unable to check the march of the Roundhead army, and, on September 5th, he had the mortification of seeing

(1) Clarendon, iv., bk. vii., 168, 169.

it enter the city, whose garrison, it seems, had remaining but one more barrel of gunpowder !

Although Gloucester was lost to the royal cause, the King was ready to cut off the army of Essex from its return to protect London. His Majesty, therefore, threw his army across the proposed line of march of the Roundheads, by occupying the town and hills of Newbury. Here, on September 20th, was fought the first battle of that name. The action began early in the morning and was maintained with great vigour and persistence on both sides until night put an end to the conflict. If the losses of the enemy were greater in number, the royal army suffered heavily in the quality of the slain, for in this battle died Sunderland, endeared by his character and opinions to all wise leaders ; Caernarvon, invaluable for his strict discipline and beloved for his justice ; Falkland, the glory of the Royalists, whose panegyric by Clarendon is one of the famous passages of English literature. In the night, following the battle, the royal army drew off towards Oxford. The next day Essex, though pursued and harassed by Prince Rupert's horse, continued his march to London, leaving Reading open to the royal forces. After placing a garrison in Donnington Castle, the King retired to Oxford. The gallant actions, such as those of Basing House and Arundel Castle, belong to a fuller history of the Great Rebellion.

It must be admitted that the failure of the King to take Gloucester was one of the turning points of the war. Up to that time, success had attended the royal arms. In the end of 1643, the King held all the north of England, except the corner of Yorkshire about Hull, and the counties of Lancashire, Cheshire and Stafford, all of the south-western counties and Wales, except a few scattered points. The

entire eastern part of the country, south of the Humber, was in the hands of Parliament. And while the reverse of Gloucester dispirited the Cavaliers, the rebels, who had been thrown into confusion by the earlier Royalist victories, now began to take fresh courage. Moreover, there were dissensions among the councillors and the officers of the King at Oxford, together with jealousies among the members of his Court. Meanwhile, in the Parliament at Westminster, Pym resolved to call upon the Scots to help him overthrow their Sovereign. The Scots, fearing that, if the King were successful against the English rebels, he might turn his arms next against themselves, were ready enough to enter into this alliance, provided that the Church of England should be made Presbyterian. On July 1st, 1643, an assembly of Puritan ministers had met at Westminster to propose ecclesiastical alterations, which were to be submitted to Parliament. In August, Sir Harry Vane, the younger, was sent to Edinburgh at the head of a commission from the English Parliament, to negotiate an alliance with the Scots against the King. The result was a treaty between the two nations known as the Solemn League and Covenant (to be distinguished, however, from the Scottish National Covenant of 1638), whereby, in return for the destruction of the Church of England, the establishment of Presbyterianism in all three kingdoms, and for subsidies of money from the English Parliament, the Scots agreed to send an army into England before the opening of the next campaign. This Solemn League and Covenant was signed by the members of Parliament on September 25th, in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. This bargain between the Parliament and the Scots brought about eventually the ruin of the royal cause.

"The joy of the presbyterians was at its height. Committees, appointed to investigate in each county the conduct and doctrine of the incumbents of parishes, redoubled their activity and rigour, and about 8,000 clergy were ejected from their livings. From the beginning of the war, parliament had ordered all theatres to be closed. The same prohibition was extended now to all popular games hitherto in use on Sundays and holidays throughout the kingdom ; not one was excepted, however great its antiquity, however manifest its harmlessness. The may-poles, which for ages had been erected as tokens of public joy at the return of spring, were everywhere pulled down, and orders given that no new ones should be set up."[1] The ceremonies and festivities of Christmas were abolished, and the day itself was proclaimed as a fast ! England ceased to be "Merrie England" at this time. "Archbishop Laud, who for three years had been left forgotten in prison, was called all at once to the bar of the Upper House, and summoned to answer the charges of the Commons, on November 13."[2]

Allusion has been made to the Irish insurrection of 1641. It began by an attempt of the Celtic natives to seize Ulster. Later the Roman Catholick nobility and gentry of the Pale joined the uprising out of a common fear of the Puritan politicians. The outbreak of the Civil War in England in 1642 prevented any adequate attempt to suppress the rebellion in Ireland. The Confederate Catholicks, as they styled themselves, had chosen a Supreme Council to govern those parts of Ireland which were in revolt. In October, a General Assembly of the Confederates met at Kilkenny, and petitioned

(1) Guizot, bk. v., p. 209.
(2) Ibid.

the King for a redress of grievances. In 1643, His Majesty opened negotiations with them, with a view of obtaining an Irish army to assist him in England. Though opposed by the Roman clergy, led by the papal nuncio, the Confederates offered the King 10,000 men, if he would allow a Parliament, composed chiefly of Roman Catholicks, to meet in Dublin. The King then directed a Cessation of Arms in Ireland, and empowered his representative, the Earl of Ormond, to treat with the Confederates. By the terms of the Cessation, which was to last for twelve months, and which was signed September 15th, the coast-line from Belfast to Dublin was held by the English forces and the rest of the island remained in the hands of the Confederates, while Irish troops were to be sent to the support of the royal party in Scotland, and English troops, released from service in Ireland, were to be returned to the King's service in England. The statement, which was circulated by the King's enemies that at this time Irish rebels were introduced by royal authority into England to fight against the forces of the Parliament, is not true. But, even if it were, it is difficult to see why it were a greater enormity for the King to pardon and call to his aid his Roman Catholick Irish subjects, than for the Parliament to hire a powerful army of Presbyterian Scots to invade England with the express purpose of overturning both Church and Throne.

In consequence of the Cessation, signed on the King's behalf by the Marquess of Ormond, with the Confederate Catholick Lords, five English regiments, which had been engaged in the Irish campaign, were despatched to England. They landed at Mostyn in Flintshire in November, 1643, and were placed under the command of a gallant Cavalier, the Lord Byron. So great was the reputation of the

prowess of these seasoned troops, that no force of the enemy ventured to meet them in the field. As they advanced into England, all posts were either abandoned or surrendered to them. At length the garrison of Nantwich in Cheshire arrested their progress, and Byron laid siege to the town. But, on January 15th, 1644, Sir Thomas Fairfax approached with a superior force from Yorkshire. For two hours, the Anglo-Irish under Byron, maintained an obstinate resistance to the attacks of the garrison from within, and the army of Fairfax from without. In the heat of the fight, 1,600 of Byron's men threw down their arms and entered the ranks of the enemy. This turned the day against the Royalists. Among the prisoners taken by Fairfax was Colonel Monk, afterwards so celebrated for the part he played in the Restoration of Charles II.

At the same time that Nantwich was invested by the Anglo-Irish force, the Scots, 21,000 strong, under Alexander Leslie, who had been created Earl of Leven by the King in 1641, crossed the Tweed to support the side of the Puritans. Disappointed in an attempt to surprise Newcastle, they seized the port of Sunderland. When they refused the battle offered them by the Marquess of Newcastle, they were held for five weeks in their own quarters. But the two Fairfaxes, father and son, captured Leeds, and, to avoid being shut in betwixt two hostile forces, Newcastle abandoned Durham, and fell back on York. Here, for the present, we must leave him, while we follow more closely the fortunes of the King at Oxford.

CHAPTER X.

THE GREAT REBELLION (CONTINUED).

1644—1645.

Royalist Parliament at Oxford—The King's readiness for negotiations—The Committee of both kingdoms—Montrose and Glamorgan—Parting of the King and Queen—Birth of the Princess Henrietta at Exeter—Advance of Essex upon Exeter—Escape of the Queen—Arrival of the King in Exeter—Perilous voyage of the Queen—The King's affection for his wife—Newcastle besieged in York—Parliament attempts to enclose the King in Oxford—The King eludes the Parliamentary armies—Battle of Cropredy Bridge—Prince Rupert despatched to the relief of York—Marston Moor—Loss of the north—Destruction of Essex's army in Cornwall—Tippermuir—Second Battle of Newbury—State of the royal cause—Rise of the Independents—"The Self-denying Ordinance"—Parliament abolishes the English Liturgy—Execution of Archbishop Laud—Treaty of Uxbridge.

EARLY in the winter of 1643—1644, the King had determined to summon the Parliament of his loyal lieges at Oxford. In due course the writs were sent out, and the Parliament met on January 22nd, 1644. In the Royalist House of Lords in Oxford were seated the great majority of the Peers of England; in the Royalist House of Commons, one-third of the elected members of the Lower House, the remaining two-thirds sitting as recalcitrants at Westminster. The privy-councillors, who attended the King at Oxford, were the Lord Littleton, Keeper of the Great Seal of England; Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Duke of Richmond, nearly related to the royal family, and always one of King Charles'

most devoted friends ; the Marquess of Hertford, brother-in-law to the Earl of Essex, and supposed to be affected with the spirit of the Parliament, but rejecting, so soon as he discerned them, the violent purposes of the Houses against the King ; the Earl of Southampton, always most solicitous for peace, but always close in his attendance, as true in his loyalty, to the King ; the Earl of Leicester, Strafford's successor as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a man of honour and fidelity to the King, but without enjoying his master's confidence or favour ; the Earl of Bristol, who, as ambassador to Spain, had concluded the marriage treaty with the Infanta ; who had been crushed by the Duke of Buckingham ; who had led the discontented party in the beginning of the troubles, but who, like so many others, came over to the King, when the Parliament entered upon its course of rebellion ; the Earl, presently Marquess, of Newcastle, who was not at Oxford, but remained with the King's commission as general in the north ; the Earl of Berkshire, imprisoned by the Parliament ; the Lord Dunsmore, father-in-law to the Earl of Southampton ; the Lord Seymour, brother to the Marquess of Hertford ; the Lord Savile, of whom it is enough to say that he played a treacherous part both to the King and to the Parliament ; the Viscount Falkland had been a member of the King's Council up to the day of his death at Newbury in 1643 ; Sir John Colepepper, who came into greater prominence as a member of the Council of the Prince of Wales, and as special agent in Spain ; Secretary Nicholas, "a man of very good reputation, and of singular integrity" ; Sir John Banks, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas ; Sir Peter Wych, Comptroller of the Household, who, upon his death, was succeeded by Sir Christopher Hatton. Three great nobles there

were, who had belonged to the King's Council, but who had deserted His Majesty's service for that of the Parliament, the Earls of Northumberland, Bedford and Holland. After the siege of Gloucester, Bedford and Holland tried to make their peace with the royal party. They were received at Oxford, but were treated with less consideration than they had expected, and before long they found an opportunity to return to the Parliament. Northumberland also had withdrawn from the Parliament, and was ready, had the reception of Bedford and Holland been favourable, to join the King ; but, when those two Earls left Oxford, Northumberland returned to his Roundhead associates.

"Such was the King's situation that, in order to restore peace to the nation, he had no occasion to demand any other terms than the restoring of the laws and constitution, the replacing him in the same rights which had ever been enjoyed by his predecessors, and the re-establishing on its ancient basis of the whole frame of government, civil as well as ecclesiastical. And, that he might facilitate an end seemingly so desirable, he offered to employ means equally popular—a universal act of oblivion, and a toleration or indulgence to tender consciences. . . . He solicited a treaty on all occasions, and desired a conference and mutual examination of pretensions, even when he entertained no hopes that any conclusion could possibly result from it."[1]

The Parliament at Westminster avoided all advances towards negotiation. They appointed a Committee of both kingdoms (England and Scotland), with control over foreign affairs, but with the special injunction to conclude no cessation from arms nor treaty with the King without consent of Parliament.

(1) Hume, v., 171, 172.

From Oxford, the King commissioned the Marquess of Montrose to carry on the war for him in Scotland, and despatched the Earl of Glamoragn to Ireland to offer the Confederates there the repeal of the penal laws, a term of limitation for inquiries into the titles of estates, and the possible establishment in Ireland of the Roman Church, in return for military aid to be sent to Montrose in Scotland. But these offers the King was prevented from making good, owing to the Protestant opposition of his own followers.

At Oxford also, on April 13th, 1644, this Vow was made by the King, and delivered in writing to his confessor, Dr. Gilbert Sheldon :[1]

> "I do hereby promise and solemnly vow, in the Presence and for the Service of Almighty God, that, if it shall please the Divine Majesty of His infinite goodness to restore me to my just Kingly rights and to re-establish me in my Throne, I will wholly give back to His Church all those impropriations which are now held by the Crown, and what lands soever I do now or should enjoy, which have been taken away either from any episcopal See, or any Cathedral or collegiate Church, from any abbey or religious house. . . . And I humbly beseech God to accept of this my Vow, and to bless me in the design I have now in hand, through Jesus Christ our Lord."
>
> "CHARLES R."

As the spring campaign opened, and there was danger of Oxford's being threatened by the Roundheads, it became necessary for the King to send the Queen to a place of greater security. Accordingly,

(1) Given in *Imago Regia* by Douglas Macleane.

he escorted her "to Abingdon, and there on the 3rd of April, 1644, with streaming eyes and dark forebodings for the future, this attached pair parted, never to meet again on earth."[1] The Queen's first destination was Bath, then Exeter, where Her Majesty took up her abode at Bedford House, to await her confinement. "The King had written to summon to her assistance his faithful household physician, Theodore Mayerne; his epistle was comprehended in one emphatic line in French:

King Charles I. to Dr. Sir Theodore Mayerne.
"MAYERNE:
"For the love of *me*, go to my wife!
"C. R."[1]

On June 16th, 1644, the Queen gave birth to a daughter, the Princess Henrietta, "and in less than a fortnight afterwards, the army of the Earl of Essex advanced to besiege her city of refuge. On the approach of this hostile force, the Queen, who was in a very precarious state of health, sent to the republican general, requesting permission to retire to Bath, for the completion of her recovery. Essex made answer, 'that it was his intention to escort Her Majesty to London, where her presence was required, to answer to Parliament for having levied war in England.' This was tantamount to avowing an intention of leading her to the metropolis as a prisoner, and the French writers aver that Essex went so far as to set a price on her head."[2] With the spirit of her father, the Queen rose from her sick bed and escaped from Exeter in disguise. She was obliged to pass two days in a hut three miles from

(1) Strickland, viii., 85, 86
(2) Strickland, viii., 87.

the city. Then, in extreme pain, she made her way, with her three companions, to Pendennis Castle, near the Lizard, in Cornwall. Here she arrived on June 29th, and embarked at once upon a friendly Dutch vessel, which was lying in the bay. Meantime, her royal husband made incredible efforts to succour her. "He fought his way to Exeter by a series of minor victories, which were complete, because he was his own general. So near were the King and Queen towards meeting once more, that Charles entered Exeter triumphantly but ten days after the Queen had sailed from Pendennis.

"Lady Morton presented to the King the little Princess, left to her care on the flight of the unfortunate Queen. For the first and last time, the hapless monarch bestowed on his poor babe a paternal embrace. He caused one of his Chaplains to baptize this little one Henrietta Anne, after her kind aunt of France and her mother. He relieved Exeter, and left an order on the customs for the support of his infant, who remained there for some time in the charge of her governess, Lady Morton."[1]

It remains to say that the Queen's ship was chased by a cruiser in the service of the Parliament, and cannon-shots were fired after her until the vessel was nearly in sight of Jersey. Some French vessels interrupted the chase; but, just as they were about to make the harbour of Dieppe, a furious storm sprang up, and the Queen's ship was driven towards the Breton coast. Her Majesty ordered out the long-boat, and was rowed ashore. Here, at last, she found herself in safety and among friends. In the *Eikon Basilike* King Charles says, "Although I have much cause to be troubled at my wife's departure from me, yet her absence grieves me not so much

(1) Strickland, viii, 88.

as the scandal of that necessity which drives her away doth afflict me, viz., that she should be compelled by my own subjects to withdraw for her safety. I fear such conduct (so little adorning the protestant profession) may occasion a farther alienation of her mind, and divorce of affection in her from that religion, which is the only thing in which my wife and I differ."

"Her sympathy with my afflictions makes her virtues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest night. Thus may the envious world be assured that she loves me, not my fortunes. The less I may be blest with her company, the more will I retire to God, and to my own heart, whence no malice can banish her. My enemies may envy me; they can never deprive me of the enjoyment of her virtues, while I am myself."

It is time to return to the war. On April 20th, the Marquess of Newcastle had led his army into York. Here he was followed by the Scots; they were joined by Fairfax; and their combined armies besieged the city. At first Newcastle despised their attempts; but when they were joined by the Earl of Manchester with 14,000 men, he appealed for aid to the King.

During the leaguer of York, the Parliament were despatching Essex and Waller in two separate army corps, amounting to nearly 20,000 men, with the hope of enclosing, or besieging, the King in Oxford. A touch of grim humour is given to this attempt of the Roundheads by the answer of the "Assembly of Divines" at Westminster to the request of Essex to keep a fast for his success: "We spent from nine to five graciously. After Dr. Twisse had begun with a brief prayer, Mr. Marshall prayed large two hours, most divinely confessing the sins of the

members of the assembly in a wonderful, pathetick, and prudent way. After Mr. Arrowsmith preached an hour, then a psalm ; thereafter Mr. Vines prayed near two hours, and Mr. Palmer preached an hour, and Mr. Seamen prayed near two hours, then a psalm ; after Mr. Henderson brought them to a sweet conference of the heat confessed in the assembly, and other seen faults to be remedied, and the conveniency to preach against all sects, especially anabaptists and antinomians. Dr. Twisse closed with a short prayer and blessing. God was so evidently in all this exercise, that we expect certainly a blessing."[1] But the expected " blessing " did not attend the arms of the Puritan captains. They marched towards Oxford ; but the King with less than 7,000 men, by a skilful manœuvre, passed between the hostile divisions, and came safely to Worcester. Essex directed his march into Dorset and the west, eventually laying siege, as we have shewn, to Exeter. Waller undertook to pursue the King. But Charles again eluded him by drawing Waller up the Severn Valley, and then turning suddenly, retraced his march to Oxford. Two days later, Waller followed the King to the neighbourhood of Oxford ; but was defeated by the King on June 29th, at Cropredy Bridge.

" As Charles marched northwards on the eastern side of the Cherwell, Waller marched in the same direction on the western. . . . Seizing Cropredy Bridge [Waller] watched the enemy marching past. Suddenly Charles' vanguard and main force hastened their steps on the news that a Parliamentary force of 300 horse was in front, and might be cut off before Waller could come to the rescue. Charles, however, had omitted to inform his rearguard of his intentions, and there was soon a considerable space between

(1) Baillie, ii. 18, 19, Quoted by Lingard, x. 113, Note.

that part of his army and the rest. Waller at once seized the opportunity. Sending Lieutenant-General Middleton . . . across a ford about a mile lower down the river, he himself pushed over Cropredy Bridge to cut off the loiterers. For a while everything went well with him, and the King's rearguard was almost reduced to the necessity of surrender. In the meanwhile, however, the main body of the Royalists had hastened back to the relief of their comrades, and a sudden charge made by the Earl of Cleveland, and supported by Lord Bernard Stewart, changed the fortune of the day. Middleton was routed, and, ultimately, after a second onslaught, in which Wilmot took part with Cleveland, Waller's park of artillery was captured. The Parliamentary General drew back to his own side of the little river, and, though he firmly held the bridge, the Royalists succeeded in crossing the ford."[1]

The King, chivalrous knight that he was, having defeated his enemy, sent at once a trumpeter to Waller asking him to receive a message of peace. Waller, like Essex before Oxford, answered that he had no power to treat.

His Majesty was now free to march in pursuit of Essex, for the relief of the Queen.

In answer to Newcastle's request for assistance, the King had ordered Prince Rupert to go to the relief of York. On July 1st, the Prince and his army were received there with acclamations of joy ; but on the next day, July 2nd, notwithstanding Newcastle's advice to wait for reinforcements, Rupert insisted upon drawing out of the city to fight the Roundheads seven miles away at Marston Moor. The Parliamentary army, 27,000 strong, had the advantage of position on a ridge of high ground, where

(1) S. R. Gardiner, " History of the Great Civil War," i., 362.

they disposed their infantry in the centre, with Fairfax's horse on the right wing, and Cromwell's Ironsides on the left. The Royalists, numbering only 14,000, were drawn up opposite, with Newcastle's " White Coats " and other foot in the centre, supported by Goring's horse on the left and Prince Rupert on the right. It was now five o'clock in the afternoon, and the two armies stood watching each other in the silence of suspense for two hours, with only a ditch or rivulet between them. At seven o'clock the signal for the charge was given. The Royalist left wing was successful, and drove the Scottish cavalry off the field in such headlong rout that Manchester, Leven and Fairfax, convinced that the day was lost, fled in different directions. But, on the right wing, Prince Rupert, though charging with his usual impetuosity, had met his match in Cromwell's Ironsides, and was put to flight. Cromwell then returned from the pursuit, and attacked the royal infantry of the centre, which had been fighting furiously with the Roundhead centre, opposed to it. Newcastle's " White Coats " formed a circle, and whilst their pikemen kept the cavalry at bay, their musqueteers poured repeated volleys into the ranks of the enemy. Had these brave men been supported by any other troop, a Royalist victory might have been won. But there was no support for them ; when their ammunition gave out, they perished to a man. When Prince Rupert rallied his shattered squadrons, he rode back to a lost field, where none of the royal army were left but the prisoners and the dead and the dying, and he deemed it more prudent to draw off as best he could to York. The Marquess of Newcastle, overwhelmed by the magnitude of the disaster, and mortified by Prince Rupert's want of deference to his authority, experience

and counsel, as General of the north, withdrew at once beyond seas and took no further part in the war. Cromwell remained master of the battle-field. York, abandoned to its fate, opened its gates to the enemy, on condition that the citizens should not be molested, that the garrison should retire to Skipton, and that the monuments of the city, such as the Minster, should be unharmed by the "godly" soldiery of Cromwell. The defeat of Marston Moor and the fall of York lost all of the north of England to the royal cause.

The disasters in the north were offset in a degree by the victories of the King and Prince Maurice in the south-west. As the King advanced into Devonshire, Essex pushed farther west into Cornwall. Here, between Fowey and Lostwithiel, in August, the forces of the King, Prince Maurice and Sir Richard Grenville, enclosed the army of Essex, cutting them off from all communication with London. The King took occasion to write with his own hand a letter to Essex, in which he told the Earl "how much it was in his power to restore that peace to the kingdom, which he had professed always to desire ; and upon such conditions, as did fully comply with all those ends for which the Parliament had first taken up arms ; for His Majesty was still ready to satisfy all those ends ; but that, since the invasion of the kingdom by the Scots, all his overtures of peace had been rejected ; which must prove the destruction of the kingdom, if he did not, with his authority and power, dispose those at Westminster to accept of a peace that might preserve it." To this Essex replied coldly that his business was to fight, that of the Parliament to negotiate. But as the month of August wore on, Essex found himself in great peril, hemmed in ever closer between the

royal forces and the sea. In these straits he ordered his cavalry to break through the lines surrounding them, and save themselves as best they could. This design was learnt by the King's Council of War, and commands were given accordingly to the royal horse, and orders renewed to break down the bridges and to block the highways with felled trees. But Goring who, after Marston Moor, had joined the King and had been placed in command of the royal cavalry, appears to have passed the night in a drunken carouse ; the night itself was dark and misty, and the Roundhead horse passed silently between the armies of the King and Prince Maurice, and escaped with few losses. Not so, however, the infantry. The King in person drove the enemy, by a series of skirmishes, nearer the sea, and he himself passed the night in the field, so close to the enemy that their cannon-shot fell within a few yards of His Majesty, while he was at supper. The next day, Sunday, September 1st, Essex sent an officer to the King to desire a parley, and in the meantime Essex himself, leaving his whole army to the care of Major-General Skippon to make what conditions he could for them, embarked with a few friends in a vessel at Fowey, whence he sailed to Plymouth and then to London. On Monday, September 2nd, Skippon surrendered his 6,000 infantry, who, after giving up their arms and ammunition, were allowed to march to Southampton, honourably treated by the royal army, but roughly handled by the loyal inhabitants, especially the women of Lostwithiel, and other towns through which they passed.

On this very day, September 2nd, Montrose defeated the Scottish rebels at Tippermuir, and won Perth and Aberdeen for the King.

By the long campaign in the west, the hard marching

and the constant skirmishes with the enemy, the royal army was much diminished, and the King was anxious to return to Oxford, for the winter. Therefore, attended by a small body of guards, and leaving commands for the army to follow him, he went first to Exeter and then to Chard in Somersetshire. Here he was joined by Prince Rupert, who gave him an account of the unhappy affairs of the north, and who presently returned to Bristol with orders to bring up troops from the west and north for the King. At this time, the King's own army amounted to about 5,500 infantry and 4,000 horse. With this force, His Majesty raised the siege of Portland Castle. On October 15th he came to Salisbury, and then marched to Andover, from which he dislodged the Roundheads under Waller. Proceeding leisurely on his way to Oxford, the King relieved Donnington Castle, another of those great and loyal houses, which had held out for him ; and, having come to Newbury, he despatched the Earl of Northampon with three regiments of horse to the relief of Banbury Castle ; which was accomplished successfully on October 26th. The King had determined to await at Newbury the return of the Earl of Northampton from Banbury, that he might send him upon a like mission to relieve Basing House, where the Marquess of Winchester had made one of the most brilliant and obstinate defences of the war. But before this plan could be achieved, news reached the King that the remnants of the forces which had been under Essex and Waller, together with the London trained bands, had been united under the Earl of Manchester, making up an army of nearly 16,000 men, and that this force was now advancing against the royal army at Newbury. The King determined to remain with his

much smaller force on the defensive. On the 27th of October, the second battle of Newbury was fought. The action was a hot one, carried on simultaneously on both sides of Newbury, chiefly in the villages of Shaw and Speen. During the first half of the day, the enemy had almost surrounded the royal army, though with much more loss to themselves than to the King. At three o'clock in the afternoon, Waller with his own men and the remains of Essex's army crossed the river at Speen and surprised the royal horse, which were guarding the ordnance in that quarter. The King himself, the Prince of Wales, and many lords and gentlemen of the King's suite, were in the midst of that part of the field. But His Majesty's own presence could not check the flight of his cavalry, upon the approach of the enemy. The ordnance was captured. And the King and the Prince were saved only by the timely charge of Sir John Causfield with the Queen's regiment of horse. At the same time the left wing of the enemy's horse was forced back, in great confusion, by Goring with the Earl of Cleveland's brigade ; but unfortunately the Earl himself was taken prisoner. Manchester's own division advanced upon Shaw. They came on singing psalms ; but both horse and foot were " so well entertained " by the Royalists in that quarter, that they were beaten from the field. Night put an end to the contest. The King, who had seen his troops in his own part of the field give way before the enemy, supposed that his loss had been much greater than it really was. After dark, with the Prince and his guards, he rode to Donnington Castle, and here, by his orders, at ten o'clock at night, all the royal army withdrew. At Donnington, the King left all the ordnance and carriages, which had not been employed in the field, while he himself rode

to meet Prince Rupert and his reinforcements. Meanwhile, the enemy had occupied Newbury ; but so great had been their losses, and such was their want of confidence, that they made no attempt to check the King and Prince Rupert, when within eight days of the battle they returned to Donnington, and carried off their cannon and ammunition in safety ; nor did the enemy show any disposition to fight when the royal army appeared in battle array in the large field between Speen and Newbury. The King gave orders to retire with drums beating and trumpets sounding. It was now November. Basing House was relieved soon after the Battle of Newbury. On the 23rd of the month, the King returned to Oxford, to the universal joy of that loyal city. The works of the town had been strengthened during the King's absence ; and of this there was need, for Abingdon and other posts in the neighbourhood, which had been lost to the King in May, were held still by the enemy.

If, however, owing to the King's victories in the west, Montrose's successes in Scotland, and the cessation of hostilities in Ireland, the prospects of the royal cause seemed fairer than in the spring, yet His Majesty's position was full of anxiety. All of the north and the east of England was lost, together with the south coast as far west as Dorset, the greater part of Gloucestershire, and in Wales all of Pembrokeshire. There remained to the King, then, the south-west, the western midlands (except Gloucestershire) and almost all of Wales. There were, it is true, certain notable garrisons still stout for the King in the very midst of the enemy's country, such as Carlisle, Bolton and Sandal Castles, Pontefract, Lathom House, Newark, Belvoir Castle, Lichfield, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Stamford, Corfe Castle. But

the loss of the north might release at any time the Scots' army to unite with the Parliamentary armies against the King ; and the resources of the Royalists were well-nigh exhausted, and where were they to look for fresh supplies ? And around the King himself, in his Court, in his Council of State, and among his officers, there were jealousies and altercations, which were weakening his power.

But if there were divided counsels among the Royalists in Oxford, there had sprung up the bitterest quarrels, both political and religious, in the rebel camp at Westminster. The Presbyterians, who had felt themselves secure in the overthrow of the Church, and had flattered themselves that now the way was clear for imposing their own tenets upon the whole of England, found themselves confronted with a new sect, the Independents, who claimed that every individual should be at liberty to preach and to pray as he saw fit. This was individualism run mad. It is not necessary to dwell upon the outrageous blasphemies, desecrations and indecencies, of which these professors were guilty. The more moderate political and military leaders like Essex, Manchester and Waller sided with the Presbyterians ; the more violent, of whom Oliver Cromwell was chief, were Independents. Essex and Manchester, tired with the war, would have welcomed peace. Cromwell, accusing Manchester of lukewarmness in the late campaign, was beginning, in spite of his guarded and subtle speeches in the Commons, to show his hand as a revolutionary against the King and the nobility. In these circumstances, the Presbyterian party succeeded in sending nine Commissioners to Oxford to carry their proposals to the King. " They stopped on a little hill at a short distance from the city, and announced themselves to the governor by a trumpeter.

Some hours passed, and no answer was returned. The King, walking in his garden, perceived on the hill the group, inquired who those people were, and immediately sent a gentleman with orders to introduce them into the city, provide lodgings for them, and express his regret that they should have been kept waiting so long."[1] The next day, the King gave audience to the Commissioners. The proposals were read in the presence of the Council and the Court.

"They required the King to surrender his power to the distrust of Parliament; his party to its vengeance."[2] More than once a murmur of anger broke forth from among those present; at one time particularly, when Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, who were standing by, were named as excluded from any amnesty, a roar of laughter was checked by the King, who, "turning round with a severe look, imposed silence on all, and continued to listen patiently and gravely."[2] The King did not refuse to negotiate; but he declared, "There are three things I will not part with—the Church, my Crown and my friends." The Commissioners returned to Westminster, provoked at their failure to induce the King to acknowledge as a true Parliament the poor remnant which was sitting there.

It was now the turn of Cromwell and the Independents. They introduced what has been called the "Self-denying ordinance," whereby all members of both Houses of Parliament should be excluded from commands in the army. On April 3rd, 1645, this Ordinance was carried. And accordingly Essex, Manchester, and Waller resigned their commissions, and when it was expected that Cromwell would do the same, by a clever subterfuge he was retained in the service, and made Lieutenant-General to Sir

(1) Guizot, 250. (2) Guizot, 251.

Thomas Fairfax, who was appointed Commander of what was called, in the jargon of the day, the " New Model Army " of the Parliament.

On January 1st, 1645, Sir John Hotham and his son were beheaded by order of the Westminster Parliament, for an attempt on their part to deliver Hull to the King, from whose just demands they had withheld that post nearly three years before.

On January 4th, the Liturgy of the Church of England, which hitherto had been tolerated, was abolished by the Parliament. At the same time, as if pressing their victory against the Church to a conclusion, the Puritans carried an illegal ordinance through both Houses of Parliament, in the Lords by a majority of only six, for the execution of Archbishop Laud. The Archbishop had been imprisoned in the Tower since March, 1641. In April, 1643, the Lords called upon the Commons to expedite his trial, and Prynne carried off from the cell of the prisoner his papers, his diary and even his written defence. Ten months more were consumed in searching for evidence against him, and at last, in March, 1644, the Archbishop was confronted with his prosecutors at the bar of the House of Lords. On twenty-one days in the course of the next six months, the hearing continued, and the Archbishop defended himself with great talent and prudence. The Lords could find no ground for the accusation of treason. The Commons had not been present at the trial of Laud ; but they were determined to have his blood. They pronounced judgment against him on the credit of the unsworn and partial statement made by their own advocate, William Prynne. The Lords for a time opposed the Ordinance of the Commons, but on January 4th, 1645, in a House of twenty or less (for some withdrew), by a majority of six, they

concurred in the vote of the Commons for the death of the Archbishop. On January 10th, on Tower Hill, the brutal murder of William Laud was enacted, and another Archbishop of Canterbury was added to that noble army of martyrs, which includes St. Alphege for the Christian Faith, St. Thomas for the rights of the Church, Simon of Sudbury victim of the Peasants' Insurrection, and now William Laud for the very existence of Church and Throne. The Archbishop's serenity of countenance and demeanour on the scaffold did honour to the cause for which he suffered.[1] The execution of the Archbishop made a deep impression upon the King. He wrote to the Queen, January 14th, 1645, "Nothing can be more evident than that Strafford's innocent blood hath been one of the great causes of God's just judgment upon this nation by a furious civil war, both sides being hitherto almost equally punished, as being, in a manner, equally guilty. But now this last crying blood being totally theirs, I believe it is no presumption to hope hereafter that His hand of justice must be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon our cause, having passed by our faults."[2]

Following upon the discussions, which had been opened by the proposals of the Westminster Parliament to the King in November, 1644, an agreement was reached between the two parties for a Treaty to be entered into at Uxbridge on January 30th, 1645. Seventeen Commissioners represented the King —among them the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hertford, the Earl of Southampton, the Lords Capel and Colepepper, Secretary Nicholas, Sir Edward Hyde, Mr. John Ashburnham—nearly the whole seventeen, friends of peace. From the rebel

(1) Fuller, iii., 471. (2) Halliwell, ii., 361

Parliaments of England and Scotland came twenty-three Commissioners, among whom may be mentioned the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury and Denbigh, Sir Harry Vane and Mr. Denzil Holles, for England ; the Marquess of Argyle, the Earl of Lowden and Mr. Alexander Henderson, for Scotland. The Parliament demanded the establishment of Presbyterianism ; the appointment of the officers of the militia by themselves ; the renewal of the war with Ireland. The King was willing to grant a limitation of the power of the bishops by councils of the lower clergy ; that for three years the officers of the militia should be nominated by a commission, half of whom were to be named by himself, and afterwards the appointment was to be in his hands ; that permanent peace should be made in Ireland. Toleration of religious differences was offered by the Royalists. Nothing less than the abolition of Episcopacy was demanded by the Parliaments. Much time was taken up with theological discussion. On February 20th, nothing had been concluded. A proposal to prolong the negotiations was rejected by the two Houses, and the Commissioners returned to London and Oxford. The Royalists had, however, discovered that Vane, St. John and Prideaux had come to Uxbridge, not so much to treat as to act the part of spies on the conduct of their colleagues ; and that there existed an irreconcilable difference of opinion between the two parties, the Presbyterians seeking the restoration of royalty, provided it could be accomplished with perfect safety to themselves and with the legal establishment of their own peculiar form of religious worship ; while the Independents sought nothing less than the total downfall of the throne and the extinction of the privileges of the nobility.

CHAPTER XI.

NASEBY.

1645.

Montrose's victories—Ireland—Assistance from the Queen—The Prince of Wales sent to the West—Opening of the campaign of 1645—The King marches north—Battle of Naseby—Defeat—The King's cabinet—Flight of the King—The King's letters to Prince Rupert, the Prince of Wales and Secretary Nicholas—The King returns to Oxford—Sets out again for the north—Surrender of Bristol—The King's letter to Prince Rupert—Battle of Rowton Heath—The King at Newark—Dismissal of Prince Rupert and Sir Richard Willis—Return of the King to Oxford—Royal proclamation as to the Book of Common Prayer—The mission of Glamorgan—Departure of the Prince of Wales—Conclusion of the war.

The succession of victories, won by the Marquess of Montrose in Scotland—over the Campbells of Argyle at Inverlochy on February 2nd, 1645, over Baillie and another Scots' army at Auldearn in May, at Alford in July, and at Kilsyth in August—gave hope to the royal cause in the north. Certainly, they had the effect of holding Leven and his invading army in the north of England to check any attempt of Montrose to cross the border. "With any other troops Montrose would probably have made the attempt already; but his Highlanders were accustomed to return home to deposit their booty in their own glens as soon as a battle had been won, and therefore, victorious as he had been, he was unable to leave the Highlands."[1]

(1) S. R. Gardiner, "Student's History," ii., 547.

In Ireland the King had commissioned the Marquess of Ormond to conclude peace, and to repeal, if necessary, the penal laws against Roman Catholics, and Poynings' Act. His Majesty thus states his reasons to the Lord Lieutenant : "It being now manifest that the English rebels have, as far as in them lies, given the command of Ireland to the Scots [they had made Leslie, Earl of Leven, commander-in-chief of all the English as well as Scottish forces in Ireland] that their aim is the total subversion of religion and regal power, and that nothing less will content them, or purchase peace here ; I think myself bound in conscience not to let slip the means of settling that kingdom (if it may be) fully under my obedience, nor lose that assistance which I may hope from my Irish subjects, for such scruples as in a less pressing condition might reasonably be stuck at by me. . . . If the suspension of Poynings' Act for such bills as shall be agreed upon between you there, and the present taking away of the penal laws against papists by a law, will do it, I shall not think it a hard bargain, so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance against my rebels of England and Scotland, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience or honour."[1] On March 5th, 1645, the King wrote to the same effect to the Queen, "I give thee power in my name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in Ireland, as soon as God shall enable me to do it ; so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it."[2]

(1) The King to the Marquess of Ormond, quoted by Lingard, x., iii., 146.

(2) "The King to the Queen," Halliwell, ii., p. 367.

But the Papists, at the instigation of the Pope's agent, took advantage of the King's condition to add to their previous demands. Through the Earl of Glamorgan, however, the King made a treaty with the Irish Assembly, whereby, in return for the King's secret promise of toleration, the Assembly promised to send a force of 10,000 Irish troops to the assistance of the King in England.

The Queen had been no less active in France. Richelieu was dead, and Mazarin was now in power. And the Queen prevailed upon him, not only to give no countenance to the rebellious subjects of her husband, but even to contribute active assistance to the royal cause.

Notwithstanding these hopes, the King determined to remove from himself the Prince of Wales, who was now approaching his fifteenth year, and to send him into the West of England with the title of generalissimo, in order at once to reanimate the ardour of the loyalists in that quarter, and to divide the perils which might threaten royalty. The Lords Capel and Colepepper and Sir Edward Hyde were commanded to accompany the Prince, and to direct everything in his name. On the 4th of March, the Prince and his councillors took leave of the King, whom they never saw again.

The campaign of 1645 opened in the end of April. The Scottish army of Leven was employed in reducing isolated posts in Yorkshire. Chester, where Lord Byron commanded, had long been blockaded and was reduced to great difficulties. The King, who had been joined by the Princes Rupert and Maurice, lay at Oxford with about fifteen thousand men. Fairfax and Cromwell were posted at Windsor with about twenty-two thousand. Taunton, held by the Parliament, was besieged by Sir Richard Grenville

with eight thousand men. Further west, the Lord Goring commanded for the King an army of nearly the same number.

The King formed the project of relieving Chester ; Fairfax, that of relieving Taunton. Cromwell was sent to cut off the King's communications around Oxford, and succeeded in defeating detachments of Royalists in several minor actions. Richard Baxter, the Puritan, records that he was shocked to find that Cromwell's Ironsides "took the King for a tyrant and an enemy, and really intended to master him or ruin him."

On May 7th, the King left Oxford, with 11,000 men, for the north. At Drayton in Shropshire, Lord Byron met him and told him that the advance of the royal army had relieved Chester. Having effected his purpose with regard to Chester, the King turned southwards again, and, May 31st, stormed and took Leicester. These Royalist successes so alarmed the Parliament in London that orders were sent at once to Fairfax, who, together with Cromwell, was on the point of investing Oxford, to relinquish that siege, to follow the King and to give him battle at any cost. At Leicester, the King might well have lingered until certain reinforcements, which he was expecting, should have reached him. But alarmist reports came to him from Oxford. The Duke of York was there ; the Council and many lords and ladies of the Court had remained there ; and the city contained the magazines and stores of the royal army. If Oxford fell into the hands of the Roundheads, the capture of Leicester would be but a poor recompense. And the King did not know that Fairfax had abandoned the siege and was marching in pursuit of himself. Furthermore, the news of Montrose's latest victory at Auldearn had just been

received, the King was in high spirits: "Never since the beginning of the rebellion," he wrote the Queen on June 9th, "have my affairs been in so good a position." He continued his march south to Daventry in Northamptonshire, where he remained for five days. On the first intimation of the approach of the Parliamentary army, the King retired to Market Harborough, with the intention of falling back upon Leicester for more troops; but that very night (June 13th) an alarm was brought to Harborough that Fairfax himself was quartered within six miles. At midnight, a council of war was called, and, notwithstanding the opposition of several officers, who entreated that the reinforcements should be waited for, Prince Rupert, together with many of the nobility and gentry, pressed vehemently for battle, and the resolution was taken to fight on the following day.

Early in the morning of Saturday, June 14th, the King's army, which numbered now only 7,500 men, of whom barely 3,500 were infantry—"a body not sufficient," as Clarendon observes, "to fight a battle for a crown"—was drawn up upon a rising ground of very great advantage, about a mile south of Harborough.[1] The main body of the foot, which as usual occupied the centre, and consisted of about 2,500, was led by the Lord Astley; the right wing of about 2,000 horse was led by Prince Rupert; the left wing of horse, not more than 1,600 in number, was commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale; the King himself was with the reserve composed of the King's life-guards, commanded by the Earl of Lindsey, whose father had commanded at Edge Hill, and Prince Rupert's regiment of foot, 800 strong, with the King's horse-guards, 500 in number, commanded by the Earl of Lichfield. At eight o'clock in the

(1) Clarendon, v., 170—172. Cf. Gardiner, ii., 244—251.

morning it began to be doubted whether the intelligence they had received of the enemy was true. Upon which the Scoutmaster was sent to make further discovery. He returned and reported "that he had been four or five miles and could neither discover nor hear anything of them." A report arose "that the enemy was retired." Whereupon Prince Rupert drew out a part of his horse and musqueteers, both to discover and engage them. The Prince had gone scarcely a mile before he saw the advance-guard in full march against the royal army. But in his excitement, the Prince imagined they were retreating, and sending word to the King to follow him with all speed, lest the enemy should escape, he himself pushed on against them. This led to the second calamity of this unhappy day. The royal army abandoned its first fair position, and hastened to the support of Prince Rupert, with whom it came up, somewhat disordered by the precipitation of its march, at ten o'clock in the morning, and took up its second position on Dust Hill. This interval had given Fairfax the opportunity of disposing of his forces on a rising ground, called Mill Hill, near the village of Naseby. The Parliamentary army was nearly twice as great as that of the King. The infantry of the centre was commanded by Fairfax and Skippon ; the left wing was held by Ireton's horse, supported by a body of dragoons concealed behind hedges on the left flank ; and the right wing, by Cromwell with the horse of the Associated Counties. Soon after ten o'clock, the battle opened by the almost simultaneous charges of the cavalry on the two wings, the Cavaliers shouting as their war-cry, "Queen Mary!" the Roundheads singing, "God is with us!" On the right, the Princes Rupert and Maurice swept all before them, wounding Ireton,

and for a time holding him a prisoner. But they fell into their usual mistake of following the pursuit too far and wasting precious time upon an attack upon the enemy's artillery and baggage. Meanwhile Cromwell, with superior numbers, had driven back Sir Marmaduke Langdale's horse, and, detaching some of his troopers to follow the fugitives, he himself wheeled about to attack the royal infantry, who, under the eye of their King, were holding the advantage over the Roundhead centre opposed to them. But when Cromwell's horse began to charge them both on the left and in the rear, and when they found themselves unsupported by their own wings of cavalry, the situation of the royal centre became desperate. Immediately the King placed himself at the head of his guards, the only reserve he had left ; the order was given for the charge, and the troops were already in motion, " when the Earl of Carnewarth, who rode next the King (a man never suspected for infidelity, nor one from whom the King would have received counsel in that case) on a sudden laid his hand on the bridle of the King's horse, and swearing two or three full-mouthed Scottish oaths (for of that nation he was) said, ' Will you go upon your death in an instant ? ' and before His Majesty understood what he would have, turned his horse round ; upon which a word run through the troops ' that they should march to the right hand ' ; which was both from charging the enemy or assisting their own men. And upon this they all turned their horses, and rode upon the spur as if they were to shift every man for himself."[1] " The surprise of the royal army became terror ; all dispersed over the plain, some to escape, others to stay the fugitives. Charles, amidst a group of officers, cried ' Stop ! Stop ! ' The dispersion

(1) Clarendon, v., 174.

went on unchecked till Prince Rupert returned to the field of battle with his squadrons. A numerous body then formed round the King, but disordered, weary, perplexed, despondent. Charles, sword in hand, his eyes glaring, despair in every feature, twice dashed forward, vehemently exclaiming, 'Gentlemen, one charge more, and we recover the day.' But no one followed him; the infantry, broken in every direction, were in full flight, or already prisoners; retreat was the only course left open; and the King with about 2,000 horse, galloped off in the direction of Leicester, leaving his artillery, ammunition, baggage, more than one hundred flags, his own standard, five thousand men, and all his cabinet papers in the possession of the enemy."[1] The Battle of Naseby was lost, and with it the King lost his kingdom.

The Parliament made haste to publish the papers of the King's cabinet, even the personal letters of the King and Queen. In these papers they discovered the King's intention to repeal the laws against Roman Catholics, and to bring Irish and foreign troops into England. These intentions the temper of Puritanism regarded as enormous crimes, and the passions of the people were inflamed against the person of the King. The King himself never denied the authenticity of the documents. He only complained of the indecency of publishing the private correspondence of himself and his wife, and of the injustice of selecting a few statements, calculated to tell against him, without at the same time giving to the public the extenuating explanation of others.

From the stricken field of Naseby, the King and Prince Rupert marched that night by Leicester to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, the next day to Lichfield, then to Bewdly in Worcestershire, and finally to Hereford.

(1) Guizot, 275, 276.

From a photograph by Valentine & Sons, Ltd., Dundee.

RAGLAN CASTLE.

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The King, though defeated and without definite plans for prosecuting the war, still placed his hopes upon the forces of Goring in the west, Gerrard in South Wales, Montrose in Scotland, and the Irish troops promised him by Glamorgan. Prince Rupert retired to Bristol to prepare for a siege, which might be expected, at any time.

Meanwhile the King with a small body of horse went to Abergavenny ; thence to Raglan Castle, the seat of his true-hearted servant, the Marquess of Worcester ; thence to Cardiff, perplexed by the dissensions of his officers, and disheartened by the low condition of his affairs. At Cardiff, a letter was delivered to him, written by Prince Rupert to the Duke of Richmond, to be shewn to the King. The Prince considered that all was lost, and counselled peace on whatever terms. As soon as his honour seemed in danger, Charles regained an energy which he never had when his mere personal safety was involved. He wrote at once, on July 31st, to his nephew : " . . . As for your opinion of my business, and your counsel thereupon, if I had any other quarrel but the defence of my religion, crown and friends, you had full reason for your advice. For I confess, that speaking either as to mere soldier or statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin ; but as to Christian, I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels to prosper, or His cause to be overthrown ; and whatsoever personal punishment it shall please him to inflict upon me, must not make me repine, much less to give over this quarrel ; which, by the grace of God, I am resolved against, whatever it cost me ; for I know my obligations to be both in conscience and honour, neither to abandon God's cause, injure my successors, nor forsake my friends. Indeed, I cannot flatter myself with

expectation of good success, more than this, to end my days with honour and a good conscience ; which obliges me to continue my endeavour, as not despairing that God may in due time avenge His own cause. Though I must avow to all my friends, that he that will stay with me at this time, must expect, and resolve, either to die for a good cause, or, which is worse, to live as miserable in the maintaining it, as the violence of insulting rebels can make him. Having thus truly and impartially stated my case unto you, and plainly told you my positive resolutions, which, by the grace of God, I will not alter, they being neither lightly nor suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire you not in any ways to hearken after treaties ; assuring you, as low as I am, I will not go less than what was offered in my name at Uxbridge. . . ."[1]

From Brecknock also, on August 5th, the King wrote to the Prince of Wales, who was now in Cornwall, to this effect :

" . . . Wherefore know that my pleasure is, whensoever you find yourself in apparent danger of falling into the rebels' hands, that you convey yourself into France, and there be under your mother's care ; who is to have the absolute full power of your education in all things except religion ; and in that, not to meddle at all, but leave it entirely to the care of your tutor, the Bishop of Salisbury (or to whom he shall appoint to supply his place, in time of his necessitated absence). . . ."[2]

The condition of the King as a fugitive in the mountains of Wales, with no definite plans or prospects before him, is well drawn by F. T. Palgrave in these verses,[3] entitled :—

(1) Halliwell, ii., 383, 384 ; Clarendon, v., 213, 214.
(2) Clarendon, v., 218, 219.
(3) " Visions of England," by F. T. Palgrave.

Wales, August 7th, 1645.

THE FUGITIVE KING.

" Cold gray cloud on the hill-tops
  Cold buffets of hill-side rain ;
As a bird that they hunt on the mountains,
  The King, he turns from Rhôs lane,
A writing of doom on his forehead,
  His eyes wan-wistful and dim,
For his comrade seeking a shelter—
  But earth has no shelter for him !

" Gray silvery gleam of armour,
  White ghost of a wandering King !
No sound but the iron-shod foot-fall
  And the bridle-chains as they ring ;
Save where the tears of heaven,
  Shed thick o'er the loyal hills,
Rush down in a hoarse-tongued torrent
  A roar of approaching ills.

" O safe in the fadeless fir-tree
  The squirrel may nestle and hide ;
And in God's own dwelling the sparrow
  Safe with her nestlings abide.
But he goes homeless and friendless,
  And manlike abides his doom ;
For he knows a king has no refuge
  Betwixt the throne and the tomb."

" Often the King rode hard through the night, and saw the break of day, which only recalled the wearied fugitive to the anxious cares of a retreat or a pursuit. Once, late in the evening, he dismissed some loyal gentlemen to their homes, with these pathetic words, ' Gentlemen, go you and take your rest ; you have houses and homes, and beds to lodge in, and families to love and live with ; but I have none ! My horse is waiting for me to travel all night.' The King often compared himself, in the words of the psalmist, ' to a partridge hunted on the mountains.' In the beautiful and touching memorial of his afflictions, he has noted himself, not only as destitute of the common necessaries of life, but as bereaved of his wife, his children, and his

friends. 'But,' said he, 'as God has given me afflictions to exercise my patience, so hath he given me patience to bear my afflictions.' "[1]

After this, the King determined to join Montrose in Scotland. He quitted Wales, passed the quarters of the Scottish Covenanting army, which was now besieging Hereford, arrived safely at Doncaster in Yorkshire, and summoned all the Cavaliers of the north to join him. They obeyed. In three days nearly 3,000 men had offered their services to the King. They were awaiting advices from Montrose, when news reached them that the Scottish cavalry had left Hereford, and were already at Rotherham, seeking everywhere for the King. The Royalists were not strong enough to risk an engagement; in the opinion of the bravest it was too late to attempt a junction with Montrose; the King's safety was now the matter of greatest moment. The King, therefore, withdrew from Doncaster with a body of 1,500 horse, traversed without obstacle the midland counties, and re-entered Oxford on August 29th.

On this hurried journey from Doncaster to Oxford the King wrote his Secretary of State the following letter:—

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

"Huntingdon, 25th August, 1645.

"NICHOLAS:

"I have this morning received yours of the 13th August, with four printed Oxford papers, concerning my published letters, and am glad to find that you there make so fair (indeed just, as concerning my religion, kingdoms and friends) an interpretation of them, and particularly that you have so great a confidence in my constancy to my just cause;

(1) Disraeli's Commentaries of Charles I., vol. iv., quoted by Strickland, viii., 113.

and now methinks I were to blame, if I did not justify the truth of your opinions concerning me by my own declaration, which is this, that let my condition be never so low, my successes never so ill, I resolve, by the grace of God, never to yield up this Church to the government of Papists, Presbyterians, or Independents, nor to injure my successors, by lessening the crown of that ecclesiastical and military power which my predecessors left me, nor forsake my friends, much less to let them suffer, when I do not, for their faithfulness to me ; resolving sooner to live as miserable as the violent rage of successful insulting rebels can make me (which I esteem far worse than death) rather than not to be exactly constant to these grounds ; from which, whosoever, upon whatsoever occasion, shall persuade me to recede in the least tittle, I shall esteem him either a fool or a knave ; but you will ask me, *quorsum hoc ?* Yes ; for without this warning, the tender personal affection of some might give me troublesome advice, and yet not blameable, considering the present condition of my affairs, and not knowing this my resolution, which I command you to publish to all whom their quality or judgment makes fit for such discourses, and so I rest

"Your most assured friend,

"CHARLES R."

" You may say confidently, and give me for author, that the peace of Ireland is concluded, not yet knowing the particular conditions."[1]

At Oxford the news reached the King of Montrose's great victory at Kilsyth on August 15th ; in consequence of which both Glasgow and Edinburgh had

(1) Halliwell, vol. ii., pp. 388, 389.

opened their gates to the conqueror. Once more the King set out from Oxford to join Montrose. As he approached Hereford, the Scots' army raised the siege, and retreated towards the north. Fairfax had begun the siege of Bristol ; but the place was strong, and Prince Rupert had a good garrison for its defence. Before going to its succour, the King stopped at Raglan Castle, to await some troops recalled from the west for this purpose. But he had scarcely arrived at Raglan, when he received the most unexpected news that Fairfax, having stormed the outer defences of Bristol, Rupert had surrendered the city on September 11th. Three days later, from Hereford, the King wrote Prince Rupert discharging him from all of his commissions, and bidding him leave England.

The King to the Prince Rupert.[1]

"Hereford, 14th September, 1645.

"NEPHEW :

"Though the loss of Bristol be a great blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did, is of so much affliction to me, that it makes me not only forget the consideration of that place, but is likewise the greatest trial of my constancy that hath yet befallen me ; for what is to be done after one that is so near me as you are, both in blood and friendship, submits himself to so mean an action ? (I give it the easiest term) such—I have so much to say, that I will say no more of it ; only, lest rashness of judgment be laid to my charge, I must remember you of your letter of the 12th of August, whereby you assured me that, if no mutiny happened, you would keep Bristol for four months. Did you keep it four days ? Was there anything like a

(1) Clarendon, v., 238.

mutiny? More questions might be asked, but, now, I confess, to little purpose ; my conclusion is, to desire you to seek your subsistence, until it shall please God to determine my condition, somewhere beyond seas ; to which end I send you herewith a pass ; and I pray God to make you sensible of your present condition, and give you means to redeem what you have lost ; for I shall have no greater joy in a victory, than a just occasion without blushing to assure you of my being

"Your loving uncle, and most faithful friend,
"C. R."

One resource was left the King : it was to unite with the army of Montrose ; at the same time, he must relieve Chester, which was besieged again, and which, now that Bristol was lost, was the only port where succours could land from Ireland. Accompanied by 5,000 Welsh infantry and northern horse, the King marched over the Welsh mountains towards Chester. He was already within sight of the city, when the Roundheads, under General Poyntz, came upon the King's rear-guard, which was commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. The King himself entered the city, but the next morning, September 24th, he had the mortification of witnessing from the tower on the walls, which still bears his name, the discomfiture of his troops at Rowton Heath two miles away. Almost immediately came the disastrous news from Scotland that, on September 13th, Montrose had been surprised and utterly defeated by David Leslie at Philiphaugh in the Ettrick Forest close to the English border.

Rowton Heath and Philiphaugh put a stop to the King's march to the north. His Majesty left Chester with 500 horse and rode to Denbigh Castle in North

Wales. In fact, he knew not where to go, nor what to do. Some proposed the island of Anglesey ; others, the city of Worcester, where Prince Maurice was governor ; the Lord Digby urged Newark. To Newark the King went. " But before his Majesty can leave Newark, he must undergo a new kind of mortification from his friends, much sharper than any he had undergone from his enemies."[1] Prince Rupert had come to Belvoir Castle with Prince Maurice and about one hundred and twenty officers, with the purpose of making his peace with the King over the matter of Bristol. The King required the Prince to stay at Belvoir until further order. Notwithstanding this command, Prince Rupert came to Newark the next day, and without any ceremony entered the King's presence-chamber, and told His Majesty that he was come to render an account of the loss of Bristol. The King said very little to him, but went to supper, during which he conversed with Prince Maurice, without saying anything to Prince Rupert. The next day, however, was appointed for hearing Prince Rupert's defence, in consequence of which the King caused a short declaration to be drawn up, absolving the Prince of any disloyalty or treason, but not of indiscretion. The governor of Newark was Sir Richard Willis, whom the King, owing to the representations of the loyal gentry of the county, had felt obliged to relieve of his post, and had offered him the command of his own guards. On Sunday, October 20th, while the King was at dinner, Willis, the Princes Rupert and Maurice, the Lord Gerrard and about twenty officers of the garrison, entered the presence-chamber.

Willis addressed himself to the King, and told him that " what his Majesty had said to him in private

(1) Clarendon, v., 279, *et sequentia.*

was now the publick talk of the town, and very much to his dishonour." Prince Rupert said, "that Sir Richard Willis was to be removed from his government for no fault that he had committed, but for being his friend." The Lord Gerrard added "that it was the plot of the Lord Digby, who was a traitor, and he would prove him to be so." "The King was so surprised with this manner of behaviour that he rose in some disorder from the table and would have gone into his bed-chamber, calling Sir Richard Willis to follow him, who answered aloud 'that he had received a public injury, and that he expected a public satisfaction.' This, with what had passed before, so angered His Majesty that with greater indignation than he was ever seen possessed with, he commanded them "to depart from his presence, and to come no more into it." In the afternoon, a petition and remonstrance was brought the King, signed by Sir Richard Willis, the two Princes, and about twenty officers, desiring a court-martial for Sir Richard Willis, and, if this were not granted, then passes for themselves and others to withdraw from the King's service. They added that "they hoped His Majesty would not look upon this action of theirs as a mutiny." The King said "He would not now christen it; but it looked very like one. As for the court of war, he would not make that a judge of his actions; but for the passes, they should be immediately prepared for as many as desired to have them." The next morning the passes were sent, and in the afternoon they left Newark, being in all about two hundred horse. Here we take leave of those gallant Cavaliers, the Princes Rupert and Maurice.

Then, as the Parliamentary forces were waxing stronger and drawing closer, the King left Newark,

marched to Oxford by way of Belvoir Castle, Northampton, Daventry, Banbury. At Oxford he arrived on November 5th, and found himself for a time at rest, able to reflect upon what was past, and to consult upon what was to come.

On the 23rd of August, 1645, the Parliament had passed an ordinance for not only publishing and dispersing in all parishes the Directory, drawn up by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, but also for the calling-in and suppressing of all copies of the Book of Common Prayer. In opposition to this Ordinance, the King set forth a Proclamation, bearing date the 13th of November, 1645, enjoining the use of the "Common Prayer according to the law, notwithstanding the pretended Ordinances of the new Directory."

Mention has been made of the mission of the Roman Catholick Earl of Glamorgan to Ireland in August, 1645.[1] The King had given him almost unlimited powers to raise money and men, and to make treaties with this object, instructing him, however, to communicate all his measures to the Marquess of Ormond, the Lord-Lieutenant, and to be directed by him in the final conclusion of the treaty. Glamorgan found that the Confederate Catholics were resolved to demand that all the Churches in Ireland, except the few still in English hands, should be given permanently to the Roman Catholicks, and that permission should be granted to their clergy to exercise jurisdiction in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical. Though Glamorgan knew that Charles had never approved of these concessions, guided in these pursuits by no manner of judgment or discretion, secretly of himself, without any communication with Ormond, he signed a treaty, on August

(1) For the King's Warrants and Letters, see Appendix Note E.

25th, 1645, in which he granted all that was asked, in consideration of an engagement by the Confederates to place him at the head of 10,000 Irishmen destined for England. Before anything had been done, a Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini, landed in Ireland and required fresh concessions, to which Glamorgan readily assented.[1] "This transaction was discovered by accident. The titular Archbishop of Tuam being killed by a sally of the garrison of Sligo, the articles of the treaty were found among his baggage, and were immediately published everywhere, and copies of them sent over to the English Parliament. The Lord-Lieutenant and Lord Digby, foreseeing the clamour which would be raised against the King, committed Glamorgan to prison, charged him with treason for his temerity, and maintained that he had acted altogether without any authority from his master. The English Parliament, however, neglected not so favourable an opportunity of reviving the whole clamour with regard to the King's favour of popery, and accused him of delivering over, in a manner, the whole kingdom of Ireland to that hated sect. The King told them 'that the Earl of Glamorgan, having made an offer to raise forces in the kingdom of Ireland and to conduct them into England for His Majesty's service, had a commission to that purpose, and to that purpose only, and that he had no commission at all to treat of anything else without the privity and direction of the Lord-Lieutenant, much less to capitulate anything concerning religion or any property belonging either to Church or laity.' Though this declaration seems agreeable to truth, it gave no satisfaction to the Parliament; and some historians, even at present, when the ancient bigotry is somewhat abated, are desirous of representing this

(1) Gardiner, "Student's History," ii., 549, 550.

very innocent transaction, in which the King was engaged by the most violent necessity, as a stain on the memory of that unfortunate prince."[1]

In a letter to the Marquess of Ormond, at the time of Glamorgan's mission, the King wrote, "But you must not understand this as a permission for you to grant to the Irish (in case they will not otherwise have a peace) anything more in matters of religion, than what I have allowed you already, except only in some convenient parishes. Where the much greater number are Papists, I give you power to permit them to have some places, which they may use as Chapels for their devotions; if there be no other impediment for obtaining a peace. But I will rather choose to suffer all extremities than ever to abandon my religion, and particularly either to English or Irish rebels."[2]

The Whig and Liberal statesmen of England have never been condemned for their concession of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, of the Maynooth grant in 1845, and the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869!

Glamorgan was soon released from prison. But Rinuccini refused to agree to the proposed treaty, on the ground that Sir Kenelm Digby, on behalf of the Queen, was arranging a treaty with the Pope on even more favourable terms. On March 28th, 1646, Ormond made peace with the Irish, the matter of religion being left with the King to settle at some future day. Ormond had refused to ratify Glamorgan's treaty. Now Rinuccini forbade the peace. As in England, there were now three parties in Ireland; first, Ormond and the Royalists; second,

(1) Hume, v., 226, 227.
(2) Halliwell, ii., 397, cf. Gardiner, "History of the Great Civil War," ii., 158—175.

the English Parliamentary party ; third, Rinuccini and the Irish Roman Catholicks.

During the nine months that had passed since the Battle of Naseby, while the King had been wandering almost as a fugitive from one post to another, Fairfax and Cromwell had been engaged in reducing the royal garrisons of the west and south. By March, 1646, Fairfax had pushed the army of Lord Hopton to the Land's End, and offered honourable conditions for capitulation. His officers and troops called upon Hopton to consent, and declared that, if he did not, they would treat without him. "Treat, then," said he, "but not for me" ; and neither he nor Lord Capel would be included in the capitulation. When the army was broken up, these noblemen embarked to join the Prince of Wales in the Scilly Isles, whither he had been taken a short time before by Lord Colepepper and Sir Edward Hyde. It was in Scilly that Hyde began to write his "History of the Great Rebellion." In April, the Prince and his Council withdrew to the island of Jersey. Thence, in September, he went to join his mother in France.

Lord Astley was at Worcester with 3,000 men. The King ordered him to join him at Oxford, and set out himself with 1,500 horse to meet him. But before they could meet, on March 22nd, Astley was overtaken by the Parliamentarians at Stowe-in-the-Wold, in Gloucestershire. The defeat of the Cavaliers was complete. Astley himself was taken prisoner. His captors, touched by his grey hairs, his courage and his fatigue, brought him a drum to rest upon. He sat down upon it, and said to the Roundhead officers, "Gentlemen, you have done your work, and may now go to play, unless you prefer to fall out among yourselves." The King's last hope, by force of arms, was gone.

CHAPTER XII.

SOLD AND BOUGHT.

1646–1647.

Political parties in England—Secret negotiations of the King—Montreuil—The King leaves Oxford—Course of his flight—Surrenders himself to the Scots' army—The Scots march north with the King—Surrender of Oxford—The King at Newcastle—Discussion of terms—The religious question—Letter of the King to Juxon—The Scots sell the King to the English Parliament—Holmby House—Parliament and the army—Abduction of the King by Cornet Joyce—The King, the prisoner of the English Army—Hampton Court—Negotiations with the army—Ireton and Cromwell—Terms of the army rejected by the King.

Although the war was in fact at an end, and only desultory fighting was continued in various quarters, the contest between the King and his rebellious subjects was but entering upon a new phase. There were now three distinct parties, with signs of the birth of a fourth party, in these three distracted kingdoms. There was first the party of the King himself, who was as determined as ever to maintain the authority of the Crown and the integrity of the Church. To the King adhered naturally the Royalist nobility and gentry, both Anglican and Roman, the clergy and loyal members of the Church of England, and, at this time, owing to the influence of the Queen of England, the policy of France. The second party was that of the English rebel Parliament, pledged to Presbyterianism, and beginning to grow anxious

now to retain control over its own army ; for new elections had but lately returned to the House 120 new members, all pledged to the rising party of the Independents, and Cromwell and his associates, who now began to dominate the army, formed the strength of Independency. But whatever their differences on other points, the Presbyterian Parliament, the Independents, and the army, were all united in their common aim, to reduce the Crown to impotence, and to destroy all vestiges of the Catholick Church in England and Ireland. The third party, which was that of the Scots, would be content with nothing short of the establishment of Presbyterianism in all three kingdoms.

When the King returned to Oxford in November, 1645, he was shocked to find that nearly all his adherents believed, with Prince Rupert, that it was useless to continue the war. So long as any considerable places held out for him, so long as there remained any of his forces in the field, so long as there were hopes that the Irish troops would be sent over, or that Montrose could raise a new army, King Charles was ready to fight on. But, when he called upon his Council to advise him as to particular measures, they urged him to open negotiations with the rebels. This the King undertook to do ; but at Westminster there had never been so little disposition for peace, and although, during the winter of 1645–1646, messages passed and repassed between the King and the Parliament, and, although the King even offered to go himself to Westminster, all attempts at an accommodation failed.

The King was kept informed, however, of the dissensions among his enemies. The Presbyterians of the Parliament were determined to enjoy their day of power by insisting that the entire kingdom

should accept their doctrine and discipline, and they were jealous of the growing influence of the Independents, and fearful also lest the army be lost to their own control. On the other hand, Cromwell and the Independents, conscious of the power they possessed in the goodwill of the troops, were equally determined to assert the liberty of private judgment. Both parties were anxious to get rid of the Scottish Presbyterian army, to the maintenance of which in England the Parliament had pledged themselves, and which, in lieu of the payments already due, was pressing heavily for supplies upon the country people. The King, who had shown himself a valiant leader in the campaigns of the war, was constrained now, by force of circumstances, to play his part in diplomacy. And His Majesty was no mean diplomat. He saw clearly that, if he could play off one hostile party against another, he would not only sow deeper dissension in the ranks of his enemies, but if he could come to terms with one of the parties, he would strengthen also his own position, with the hope of being restored thus to his throne. Accordingly, notwithstanding publick rebuffs on the part of the Westminster Parliament, the King entered into secret negotiations with the several parties of his enemies—with the more moderate of the Presbyterian members of the Parliament, with the Scottish Commissioners in London, with Sir Harry Vane the Younger, of the Independents, and with the Scottish army, which was now blockading the loyal garrison of Newark. The King of France had sent over an ambassador extraordinary, named Montreuil, with the express object of mediating between King Charles and the Scottish Commissioners. This gentleman passed between the King at Oxford, the Parliament at West-

minster, the Scottish Commissioners in London and the Scottish army at Newark.

To the Parliament the King offered to restore the Church to the condition in which it had been under Queen Elizabeth, respecting doctrine and ceremonial, and to grant full liberty of conscience, including even the use of the Directory drawn up by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. To the Independents the King offered full toleration ; to the Scots all such concessions as were not incompatible with his honour and conscience.

The Scots demanded the Uxbridge propositions, and, in addition, that the King should take the Covenant. The King replied that he would rather lose his crown than his soul. Beyond toleration of Presbyterians in England, he could not be induced to go ; and he would not throw over his loyal servant Montrose. In March, the Scots modified their terms, withdrawing their demand that the King should take the Covenant. They engaged to receive him in their army ; while the Parliament refused to allow His Majesty to come to Westminster. Montreuil assured the King that his only safety lay with the Scottish army, which could be trusted to receive him as their sovereign, and to respect his person.

Then, since Fairfax was approaching Oxford and about to invest it on all sides ; when the outposts of the enemy were already within sight of the city, and when the King's overtures to the officer in command for an honourable reception of his person were rejected, His Majesty took the resolution of leaving Oxford and finding refuge either with the Parliament at Westminster or with the Scots' army at Newark. Accordingly, at three o'clock in the morning of Monday, April 27th, 1646, the King rode

over Magdalen Bridge and passed out of the gates of Oxford. To conceal his departure, passes had been prepared, and orders had been given, for the passage of three horsemen, at every gate of the city. The King was accompanied in his flight by two companions, Mr. John Ashburnham, gentleman of his bed-chamber, and the Rev. Dr. Michael Hudson, an Oxford scholar, Chaplain to the King after Edge Hill, Scout-master-general to the Marquess of Newcastle, a man who possessed a very accurate knowledge of the lanes and less-frequented paths of the midland counties. The King was disguised, with hair and beard cut short, as Ashburnham's servant, and rode with a portmanteau fastened to his saddle. The route taken by the little party was by Nuneham Courtney, Dorchester, Henley, Slough, Uxbridge, and Harrow. At Harrow they stopped, and the King debated whether or no he should take the risk of entering London. This design, however, he abandoned, and the three riders held their course to St. Alban's, sleeping their first night at Laman Park, the residence of Sir John Garrard, near Wheathamstead. On Tuesday, the 28th, while Hudson set off alone to meet Montreuil, the King and Ashburnham continued their journey in a north-easterly direction, and on April 30th, they reached Downham in Norfolk, where they awaited the return of Hudson. They stopped at the Swan Inn, upon one of the windows of which the King's handwriting long afterwards could be seen. As the King's disguise as a servant had been advertised widely by his enemies, it was necessary for him to make alteration in his dress, and he had donned a black coat and cassock to pass as a clergyman, and then changed again to a grey riding-jacket, and was spoken of by his companions as "the doctor."

From Downham, the King came, on May 2nd, very privately and in the dead of night to Little Gidding, the home of the Ferrars, which he had visited in happier times.[1] Mr. Nicholas Ferrar had been dead several years. But the King, having an entire confidence in the family, made himself known to Mr. John Ferrar, who received His Majesty with all possible respect and duty. But fearing that Gidding, from the known loyalty of the family, might be a suspected place, for better concealment he conducted His Majesty to a private house at Coppingford, an obscure village, at a small distance from Gidding. Here the King slept, and went thence, on May 3rd, to Stamford. Sunday night, the King slept in a farm-house near Stamford, where his bedroom and a small one adjoining, which was occupied by Hudson, are pointed out to this day. At ten o'clock on Monday night, May 4th, the King and his attendants set out for Southwell to enter the Scots' army. It has been thought that the King was undecided until May 3rd, as to whether he should commit himself to the Scots ; but the Parliamentary agents were tracing the movements of the fugitives, and there was nothing now left the King but to test the assurances of Montreuil of the good faith of the Scots. Accordingly, on Tuesday morning, May 5th, the King and his fellow-travellers rode up to the King's Arms Inn, now called the Saracen's Head, where Montreuil had his lodgings, in Southwell. Montreuil was not there. He had ridden some miles out of the town to meet the King. Two hours later, he returned, to find that the King was arrived and had obtained a little sleep. Some of the Scottish Commissioners arrived, and the

(1) *Vide* Nicholas Ferrar, by J. E. Peckard, D.D., in "Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography," vol. v., pp. 181–185.

King met them in the coffee-room of the inn, where he surrendered his person into their hands. Later in the day, accompanied by the Commissioners and the French ambassador, His Majesty proceeded to the head-quarters of the Earl of Leven, the Scottish commander, at Kelham Bridge. He was received with respect ; but he very soon discovered that he was a prisoner. He was lodged in Kelham House, and a guard of honour was assigned him. But when the King would have given the watchword, Leven said to him, " Pardon me, Sire ; I am the oldest soldier here ; your Majesty will permit me to undertake that duty."

In order to assure the Scots and the Parliament of his good faith, the King sent orders to the governor of Newark and other loyal garrisons, such as Worcester and Pendennis, to surrender. This was done, and the Scots immediately broke camp, and marched north with the King in their midst to Newcastle. This city they entered on May 13th, and here the King remained a prisoner of the Scots, in their General's head-quarters, at Andersen's Place, until February, 1647. Three weeks after their arrival in Newcastle, both Ashburnham and Hudson succeeded in escaping. Hudson sealed his loyalty by his tragic death for his master one year later.

On May 11th, 1646, Fairfax invested Oxford. On June 24th, the garrison surrendered. Among the prisoners, taken by the Parliament, was the King's second son, James, Duke of York, who was sent to London. In connexion with Oxford, it is interesting to note here what Clarendon says of the University. In 1647, a Parliamentary Commission was sent to reform it, by the rule of the Covenant, " which the whole body of the University was so far from submitting to, that they met in their Convoca-

tion, and, to their eternal renown (being at the same time under a strict and strong garrison, put over them by the parliament ; the King in prison ; and all their hopes desperate), passed a public act, and declaration against the Covenant, with such invincible arguments of the illegality, wickedness, and perjury contained in it, that no man of the contrary opinion, nor the assembly of divines (which then sat at Westminster, forming a new catechism, and scheme of religion) ever ventured to make any answer to it."[1]

On August 19th, Raglan Castle fell. Harlech Castle held out until March, 1647.

The Scottish Commissioners, who were present with their army, excused their holding the King a prisoner, on the ground that they had not known what their colleagues in London had promised Montreuil. And the Commissioners in London denied that there had been any written agreement, declaring that they had given only verbal assurances of the King's safety, if he should come to their army.

The alarm, not unmingled with suspicion of the Scots' intention, was great among the Parliamentary leaders at Westminster. If the Scots were to come to terms with the King, both the design of the King and their own worst fears would be realised. The Scots, on their part, were fully conscious of their advantage in the possession of the person of the King. If they could induce His Majesty in his extremity to take their Covenant and bind himself to establish Presbyterianism in all three kingdoms, they were quite willing to take him with them to Scotland as their King, as a preliminary to restoring him to his throne in England. If the King should remain obdurate to their entreaties, they could use his person as a pawn in any bargain which they

(1) Clarendon, vol. v., bk. x., pp. 459, 460.

might make with the English Parliament, especially for the full arrears due them for their invasion of England. Accordingly, the remainder of the year 1646 was consumed with the discussion of terms and concessions between the King and the Scots, between the Scots and the Parliament. Though strongly urged by the Queen of England and the Queen Regent of France, through the French ambassador, resident in England, to give up the Church altogether, and to recognise the establishment of Presbyterianism as *un fait accompli*, the King steadfastly and consistently refused.

In July, 1646, the Parliamentary Commissioners arrived in Newcastle, and united with the Scots in the demands: That the King should take the Covenant; that the Church should be reformed on the basis of the Covenant; that the King should give up the army and navy for twenty years; that Royalists should be proscribed; that Parliament should undertake the reduction of Ireland. This meant that an intolerant Presbyterian and Parliamentary tyranny was to be set up.

On September 30th, the King wrote to Juxon, Bishop of London, and Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, for their advice as to what concessions in Church matters he might make to the opposite party.

The King to the Bishop of London.[1]

"Newcastle, September 30, 1646.

"My Lord,—

"My knowledge of your worth and learning, and particularly in resolving cases of conscience, makes me at this time (I confess) put you to a bold and hard task, nor would I do it, but that I am

(1) Halliwell ii., 422–424.

confident that you know not what fear is in a good cause. Yet I hope you believe I shall be loth to press you to a needless danger, assuring you that I will yield to none of your seculars in my care of your preservation. I need not tell you the many persuasions and threatenings that have been used to me, for making me change episcopal to presbyterial government; which, absolutely to do is so directly against my conscience, that (by the grace of God) no misery shall ever make me.

"But I hold myself obliged, by all honest means, to eschew the mischief of this too visible storm; and I think some kind of compliance to the iniquity of the times may be fit, as my case is, which at another time were unlawful. These are the grounds which have made me think of this enclosed proposition, the which as, one way, it looks handsome to me; so, in another, I am fearful lest I cannot make it with a safe conscience, of which I command you to give me your opinion upon your allegiance, conjuring you that you will deal plainly and freely with me, as you will answer it at the dreadful day of judgment.

"I conceive the question to be, whether I may with a safe conscience give way to this proposed temporary compliance, with a resolution to recover and maintain that doctrine and discipline, wherein I have been bred. The duty of my oath is herein to be chiefly considered, I flattering myself that in this way I better comply with it, than being constant to a flat denial, considering how unable I am by force to obtain that which, this way, there wants not a probability to recover, if accepted, otherwise there is no harm done. For my regal authority once settled, I make no question of recovering episcopal government; and God is

my witness, my chief end in regaining my power is to do the Church service.

"So expecting your reasons to strengthen your opinion, whatsoever it be, I rest,

"Your most assured and constant friend,

"CHARLES R."

"I desire your opinion in the particulars, as well as in the general of my proposition ; for it is very possible you may like the scope of it, and yet mend much in the penning of it. I give you leave to take the assistance of the Bishop of Salisbury and Dr. Sheldon, or either of them, and let me have your answer with all convenient speed. None knows of this but Will. Murray, who promises exact secrecy. If your opinions and reasons shall confirm me in making of this proposition, then, you some way may be seen in it ; otherwise, I promise you that your opinion shall be concealed."

The Bishops' reply[1] reached the King on October 4th, and he acted agreeably with their advice. The very utmost that His Majesty would concede to the Parliamentary and Scottish demands were : (*a*) To surrender the military control for ten years ; (*b*) To recognise the Presbyterian system for three years. A religious settlement then to be made by the King and the two Houses, after further consultation of the Assembly of Divines. It was in vain that the Presbyterian ministers preached before the King : one taking as his text 2 Sam. xix. 41-43 ; and another reproaching him to his face with his misgovernment, and calling for the psalm :

"Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
Thy wicked deeds to praise ?"

(1) Hutton, 136, 137.

The King stood up, and called for that psalm which begins :

"Have mercy, Lord, on me,
For man would me devour."

And the congregation sang the King's psalm, for their sympathies were with him. It was in vain that the Presbyterians sent to Newcastle one of their most eminent preachers and disputants, Alexander Henderson. The King was his match in all argumentative discussion. The Scottish leaders supported by promises and threats the arguments of their theological champion. Let the King take the Covenant, and agree to the establishment of the Directory, and the Scottish nation to a man, the English, except the Independents, would declare in his favour. Should he refuse, the consequences would lie with himself. The King refused. "The age was one, he said, in which men were swayed by the pulpit. Hence it was a matter of the first importance to a sovereign to determine to whose care that powerful engine should be entrusted. He quoted his father's dictum, 'No bishop, no King.' The origin of episcopacy was a theological question, which he had made it his business to study. He was convinced that the institution was derived from Christ, and that he could not in conscience exchange it for another form of Church government devised by man. He had found episcopacy in the Church at his accession ; he had sworn to maintain it in all its rights ; and he was bound to leave it in existence at his death. Once, indeed, to please the two Houses, he had betrayed his conscience by assenting to the death of Strafford : the punishment of that transgression still lay heavy on his head : but, should he, to please them again, betray it once more, he

would prove himself a most incorrigible sinner, and deserve the curse both of God and man."[1]

When both the Parliament and the Scots found themselves unable to shake the constancy of the King, they came to terms between themselves. The bare facts of the terms are these : the English Parliament agreed to pay the Scots £400,000 ; and the Scots agreed to surrender the person of the King to the Parliament and to withdraw their army at once across the Tweed. It was on January 15th, 1647, while the King was engaged in a game of chess, that the news of this transaction was brought him. With a true intuition, the unhappy Prince exclaimed, "I am sold and bought!" Apologists of the Scots and of Parliament may declare that the payment of the money was in fulfilment of an agreement made long before, that the Parliament should bear the cost of the Scottish invasion. But the question persists—If it were merely the payment of an old debt, why, so soon as the Scots received the first instalment of their money, was the person of the King thrown into the balances? There is nothing to palliate the infamy of this deed. The King, trusting to the honour of the Scottish Commissioners, which had been vouched for by the ambassador of France, had committed himself into their hands, and they sold him to his enemies for £400,000!

On January 30th, 1647, the Scots formally surrendered their prisoner to nine Parliamentary Commissioners, at whose head were the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh and Lord Montague, and the King was informed that he was to be taken to his own palace of Holdenby, or Holmby House, in Northamptonshire. On February 3rd, King Charles, under his

(1) Lingard, x., 183.

new escort, left Newcastle, sleeping that night at Durham. Subsequently, he stopped, on his journey south, at Auckland, Richmond, Ripon, Wakefield, Rotherham, Mansfield, Nottingham, Leicester. All along the way, the people came out to greet his Majesty with as great manifestations of loyalty as if he were passing on a royal progress. Persons afflicted with the King's evil were brought to him to receive the royal touch. At Nottingham, Fairfax met the King, alighted from his horse and kissed his master's hand.

On February 16th, the royal cavalcade reached Holdenby. The gentry of the neighbourhood were present in large numbers to receive the King. He was treated with great respect. The ordinary regal etiquette was used at meals, and in the presence chamber. The house itself was one, which Queen Anne, the King's mother, had purchased for her second son, when he was very young. It was therefore his own personal property. It had been built by Sir Christopher Hatton in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was at the time one of the most splendid mansions in England. Here, in surroundings that at least suggested his royal state, with opportunities of exercise on horseback and on the bowling green, in which the King delighted, his health and spirits rose. So vigorous was he that in his walks upon the terrace of the house, the old Lord Pembroke found difficulty in keeping up with him. But the House was strictly guarded, and all access to the King from outside was denied. Religion was ever the bone of contention. When the King asked for his own Chaplains, the Parliament sent him two Presbyterian ministers, whose services the King courteously declined, withdrawing into his own chamber to read by himself the daily offices of the Church.

The Presbyterians of the English Parliament were anxious, at last, to come to terms with the King. The entire country desired peace. The taxation by the Parliament was become a far heavier burthen than ever that imposed by the King had been. But the chief fear of the Parliament was the power of Cromwell in the army. They suspected that the Independents would, if they had the opportunity, subvert not only Presbyterianism, but also all distinctions of rank and estate. The Parliament, therefore, accepted the King's proposal of three years of Presbyterianism. They then proceeded to pass their four ordinances for the reduction of the English army. This led to a meeting of officers, who drew up a protest against the ordinances of Parliament. Then the soldiers organising themselves, like the Russian Soviets of our day, chose representatives, who were called "adjutators," or "agitators," to consult on all things relating to their condition. The officers' protest was condemned by Parliament. An attempt by Parliament summarily to disband the army was refused by the soldiers, and a general assembly of all the soldiers was arranged to meet on June 4th, near Newmarket. The Parliamentary leaders entered once more into negotiations with the French ambassador and the Scottish Commissioners to bring about a Scottish invasion of England on the King's behalf, which should be supported by a Presbyterian and Royalist rising in England. It was a part of the plan also that the King should be conveyed away from Holdenby, to remove him from the army. This plan was betrayed to Cromwell, who now, in conjunction with Ireton, and supported by the army, assumed control of the destinies of the King and of England.

On June 2nd, the King was playing at bowls at

Althorpe Down, two miles from Holdenby, when word was brought to the Parliamentary Commissioners that a body of horse was moving in the neighbourhood. The King returned at once to Holdenby, and the Commissioners took counsel with the guards for the protection of the King's person. That night a troop of five hundred horse, under the command of a certain Cornet Joyce, drew up before the House and posted guards at all the avenues. Joyce dismounted and informed the Parliamentary officer that he was come to carry the King to the army. He was laughed at ; but his troopers fraternized with the King's guards, and there was no further resistance possible. Joyce placed his own men on guard, with sentries at the apartments of the Commissioners, while he himself knocked loudly at the door of the King's ante-room. Here, as the King was asleep, he was denied admittance by the King's attendants, and was obliged to desist for that time. During the day, Joyce became apprehensive of a Parliamentary design to rescue the King, and at ten o'clock at night he went again to the royal apartments. The King allowed him to be admitted, and agreed to meet him again the next morning. At six o'clock on the morning of June 4th, the King, agreeably to his promise, appeared at the door opening upon the inner Court, where already Joyce and his troopers were drawn up. The King asked by whose authority Joyce was acting. "By the authority of the army," he replied. "That is no authority," said the King. "Have you no written commission from the General?" "I have the authority of the army," said Joyce, "and the general is included in the army." "That is no answer," rejoined the King. "Have you a written commission from the General?" "That is my commission," said Joyce, pointing to his troopers.

"It is written in fair and legible characters enough," said the King with a smile. And he yielded to force, and bidding the Commissioners, Pembroke, Denbigh and Montague to enter his coach with him, he left Holdenby, the prisoner of Joyce and his men.

Fairfax, the general of the army, had known nothing of these proceedings ; but when he heard of the seizure of the King, he sent an escort to meet His Majesty on the road and to conduct him back to Holdenby. But the King, who had passed the night of June 4th at Hinchinbrooke, refused to return to Holdenby, and continued the journey with Joyce to Childerly Hall, where for two days he was entertained by Lady Cutts. Here, on June 7th, Fairfax and Cromwell had an interview with the King in the garden. Both generals disavowed the action of Joyce ; but Cromwell's disavowal was no more than a subterfuge to cover the *coup de main*, which, indeed, he and Ireton had planned and executed.

On June 9th, King Charles was taken to the little palace which James I. had built at Newmarket. Cambridge had been avoided on the way for fear of demonstrations of loyalty ; but, as the King passed through Trumpington, the streets were strewn with green boughs and flowers, and bonfires were lighted. Sir Philip Meadows, who saw the King at Newmarket, described him as "the only cheerful countenance in the place." Here His Majesty remained for ten days, and had the opportunity of enjoying his favourite game of bowls at Chippenham Hall. But for nearly three months, that is, from June 4th to August 24th, the King was carried about from one place to another, following the movements of the army, as, in the course of its quarrel with the Parliament, it approached, or withdrew from, the vicinity of London. On June 24th, the King was at Royston ;

on the 26th at Hatfield. As he passed through the little village of Baldock, the rector, the Rev. Josiah Byrd, appeared in full canonicals, at the head of all his parishioners, and offered the King, for his refreshment, a chalice of wine. On July 1st, the royal prisoner was permitted to stop at Windsor Castle. From July 3rd to 22nd, he stayed at Caversham, a house of the Earl of Craven, near Reading. At Culler End he was accustomed to play at bowls. On Thursday, July 15th, the King was visited by his younger children, the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester. They met at the Greyhound Inn at Maidenhead, where the country people gathered in crowds to witness this reunion of the royal family, who passed two happy days together at Caversham. The little Princess and the Duke were accompanied by the Earl of Northumberland, to whose care they had been entrusted by the Parliament. Their residence was sometimes St. James's Palace, sometimes Syon House. The infant Princess Henrietta had been carried, in the course of 1646, by her devoted governess, the Lady Morton, to Paris, where she was restored to her mother.

On July 22nd, the King slept at Latimers. At Marlow, a peal of bells was rung in his honour. On the 23rd, he stopped, on one of his three visits, at Woburn Abbey, where his host was the fifth Earl of Bedford. On the 31st, he was at Stoke Poges. On August 1st, the King dined at Moor Park, the seat of Carey, Earl of Monmouth. On the 13th, he reached the Queen's palace of Oatlands. And on Tuesday, August 24th, he took up his residence in his own palace of Hampton Court. Here, for the next ten weeks, His Majesty enjoyed more state and freedom than had been accorded him, since he had given himself up to the Scots in May, 1646. His

own attendants were permitted to wait upon him. Royalist nobles, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, Ormond and Capel ; Scottish Commissioners, Hamilton, Lauderdale ; army officers, even Parliamentarian and Independent leaders, Ireton and Cromwell ; frequented his Court. John Evelyn writes, October 10th, 1647 :—" to Hampton Court, where I had the honour to kiss His Majesty's hand, and give him an account of several things I had in charge, he being now in the power of those execrable villains, who not long after murdered him." [1] Lady Fanshawe describes her last interview with the King : " I went three times to pay my duty to His Majesty, both as I was the daughter of his servant and the wife of his servant. The last time I ever saw him, I could not refrain from weeping. He kissed me when we took our leave of him ; and I, with streaming eyes, prayed aloud to God, to preserve His Majesty with a long and happy life. The King patted me on the cheek, and said impressively, ' Child, if God willeth, it shall be so ; but you and I must submit to God's will, and you know what hands I am in.' Then, turning to my husband, Sir Richard Fanshawe, he said, ' Be sure, Dick, to tell my son all I have said, and deliver these letters to my wife. I pray God to bless her, and preserve her, and all will be well.' Then, taking my husband in his arms, he said, ' Thou hast ever been an honest man ; I hope God will bless thee, and make thee a happy servant to my son.' Thus did we part from that benign light, which was extinguished soon after, to the grief of all Christians not forsaken of their God." [2]

The King was still a prisoner of the army, though a prisoner upon parole. Once or twice was he per-

(1) John Evelyn, " Diary," I., 243.
(2) Lady Fanshawe's " Memoirs," Allan Fea, 18, 19.

mitted to see his children. On August 30th, he dined with them at Syon House. The Princess Elizabeth, who was thoughtful and studious beyond her years, her father bade read the Sermons of Bishop Andrewes, Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," and Laud's "Answer to Fisher, the Jesuit,"—all with a view to grounding his daughter firmly in the position of the Church of England.

"Such equability of temper did he possess that, during all the variety of fortune which he underwent, no difference was perceived in his countenance or behaviour; and, though a prisoner in the hands of his most inveterate enemies, he supported towards all who approached him, the majesty of a monarch; and that neither with less nor greater state than he had been accustomed to maintain. His manner, which was not itself popular nor gracious, now appeared amiable from its great meekness and equality." [1]

As the unfortunate King had experienced the varieties of imprisonment of the Scots' army, the Presbyterian Parliament, and now of the Independent army, and as the Scots and the Parliament had offered him their terms for his restoration, so was it now the turn of the English army to propose its conditions to its captive. The Parliament at this time had renewed their offer to the King, "and presented him with the same conditions which they had offered at Newcastle. The King declined accepting them, and desired the parliament to take the proposals of the army into consideration and make them the foundation of the public settlement." [2] The conditions of the army were these :—

1. Parliament was to be moved to Oxford and dissolved within three months.

(1) Hume, v., 258. (2) Ibid.

2. Episcopacy was to be restored, but there was to be complete toleration.

3. The Lords Bristol, Digby, Worcester and Newcastle alone were to be excepted from the amnesty.

4. The command of the forces by sea and land was to reside in Parliament for ten years.

5. The appointment to all the great offices was to be in the hands of Parliament.

These proposals had been brought to the King from the leaders of the army by two of his own servants, Sir John Berkeley and Mr. John Ashburnham, who urged the King to accept them as the most generous conditions that he could expect from his victorious enemies. And it seems strange, at first thought, that the King did not accept them. In fact, to the utter consternation of his friends, he received them coldly and contemptuously, "as one who had often received similar overtures, and put no trust in them." When Ireton and others came with the proposals, and heartily and humbly desired his concurrence, he "entertained them with very tart and bitter discourses."

"You cannot be without me," said the King, "you will fall to ruin, if I do not sustain you." Upon a whispered hint from Berkeley, he changed his tone, and "began to sweeten his former discourse with great power of language and behaviour." But it "was now," says his prudent subject, "of the latest."[1] For this attitude of the King there were several reasons. He had ground for believing that the Parliament, in its struggle with the army, was on the point of restoring him to his throne; he had also hopes of a Scottish rising in his favour, through the means of the Duke of Hamilton; of Royalist support in England and Ireland, through the Lords Capel

(1) Sanderson, "History," 578.

and Ormond ; and he thoroughly distrusted the hypocrisy and the designs of Oliver Cromwell and Ireton. It is to be noted that Berkeley had been warned by some of the officers and agitators of the army, "who mistrusted Cromwell, and advised Berkeley to be on his guard against him." "For," said they, "he is a man on whom no one can rely, and who changes his conduct and language every day to every person, wholly absorbed with the desire of being, at all events, let what may occur, the leader of the successful party."[1] Clarendon refers to this same warning : "Ashburnham and Berkeley received many advertisements from some officers with whom they had most conversed, and who would have been glad that the King might have been restored by the army for the preferments which they expected might fall to their share, 'that Cromwell and Ireton resolved never to trust the King, or to do anything towards his restoration' ; and they two steered the whole body ; and therefore they advised, 'that some way might be found to remove His Majesty out of their hands.' Major Huntington, one of the best officers they had, and major to Cromwell's own regiment of horse, ... informed His Majesty of all he had observed ; and told him 'that Cromwell was a villain, and would destroy him, if he were not prevented' ; and in a short time after, he gave up his commission, and would serve no longer in the army."[2] Pepys records, December 2nd, 1664, "We all to Sir J. Minnes, where good discourse of the late troubles, they knowing things, all of them, very well ; and Cocke, from the King's own mouth, being then intrusted himself much, do know particularly that the King's credulity to Cromwell's

(1) Guizot, 337.
(2) Clarendon, v., 462, 463.

promises private to him, against the advice of his friends, and the certain discovery of the practices and discourses of Cromwell in council, by Major Huntington, did take away his life, and nothing else." [1]

But whatever grounds there were for distrusting Cromwell, there can be only regret that King Charles did not avail himself of the proposals of the army. His hopes of better terms from the Parliament were extinguished, when presently the Parliament threw itself completely into the hands of the army, and the union of these two parties rendered each one indifferent to the influence of the King. Indeed, it was one of the misfortunes of King Charles, that his own hopes, both in war and in diplomacy, were but too apt to be illusory. Even, when his best friends were conscious of his desperate condition, the King himself continued to look for fresh armies in the field, or to expect more favourable conclusions to his treaties.

(1) Pepys, "Diary," I., 536.

CHAPTER XIII.

CARISBROOKE.

1647—1648.

Danger of the King—His escape from Hampton Court—Titchfield—Mission of Berkeley and Ashburnham to the Isle of Wight—Colonel Hammond—Carisbrooke Castle—The King again a prisoner—Negotiations with the Parliament—The four proposals—The Scottish Engagement—Departure of the Commissioners—Dismissal of the King's servants—Vote of No Addresses—Designs of the Republican Party—Daily life of the King—Attempts to escape—General discontent and re-action in favour of the King—Breaking out of the Second Civil War—Last attempt of the King to escape—Siege of Colchester—Defeat of the Royalists—Scottish invasion and defeat—The Constitutional Party regain the ascendancy in Parliament.

When the King rejected the proposals of the army, and the army and Parliament drew once more to a coalition, Cromwell and Ireton changed their policy towards their prisoner. The Councillors of the King, Richmond, Southampton and Ormond, received orders to depart ; his most trusty servants, Berkeley and Ashburnham among others, were withdrawn from him ; his guards were doubled ; the King himself no longer enjoyed the same liberty in his walks. At the same time, rumours were current that the common soldiers had formed a plot to abduct his person from the officers, as the officers had carried him away from the Parliament. Dark hints were thrown out that he was to be assassinated. Suggestions were made to the King that he must escape. But the question was, whither ? The Earl of Lauderdale

offered one day to make a dash, with a small escort, for Scotland. But the King declined the attempt on the ground of his parole. The island of Jersey was suggested as a convenient point outside of England, and not too far from France. The Isle of Wight, well known for the loyalty of its inhabitants, and separated from the mainland by a narrow strip of sea, was pointed out as a suitable refuge, whence, if need be, the King might secure a ship to carry him to France. Moreover, Colonel Hammond, the newly appointed governor of Carisbrooke Castle, was the nephew of one of the most faithful and well trusted of the royal chaplains, the celebrated Dr. Henry Hammond. To this last suggestion the King was the more ready to listen. On the 9th of November, an anonymous letter, written apparently by a friend, by some thought to have been designed by Cromwell, reached the King, warning him to beware of pressing danger within the next few days. Accordingly, the King withdrew his parole from Colonel Whalley, the military commander of Hampton Court. He wrote with his own hand three letters, one to the Parliament, one to Lord Montague, and one to Colonel Whalley. *The Moderate Intelligencer* of November 11th, 1647, describes thus the escape of His Majesty : " he, as was usual, went to be private a little before evening prayer ; staying somewhat longer than usual, it was taken notice of, yet at first without suspicion; but he not coming forth, suddenly there were fears, which increased by the crying of a greyhound again and again within, and upon search it was found the King was gone, and by the way of Paradise, a place so called in the garden, in probability suddenly after his going in, and about twilight." [1] On November

(1) A. Fea, 204.

11th, therefore, at nine o'clock of a dark and stormy night, accompanied only by Colonel William Legge, the King left the palace by a postern door, and took boat on the river to Thames Ditton. Here he was joined by Sir Thomas Berkeley and John Ashburnham, who had provided horses for the party. They mounted, and guided by the King himself, rode through the night towards the coast of Hampshire, stopping only at Bishop's Sutton, where a relay of horses was waiting for them. In the morning, the King looked in vain for a ship, which he seemed to expect to find near Southampton. And upon this disappointment, he made his way to Titchfield Place, a house belonging to the Earl of Southampton, whose mother received His Majesty with all the loyalty of that devoted family. Here, the King, attended by Colonel Legge, remained during the day of November 12th, while Berkeley and Ashburnham proceeded to the Isle of Wight to sound the governor, Colonel Hammond, upon the King's reception there. Hammond refused to make any promises, on the ground that he was but the servant of the Parliament, but, to the embarrassment of the King's messengers, he insisted upon accompanying them on their return to the King, and took with him also Basket, the governor of Cowes Castle. Whether Berkeley and Ashburnham erred in judgment, whether they mismanaged their mission, whether they had gone too far to retreat, whether it was within their power to resist the importunity, or whether it entered into their minds to doubt the good faith, of Colonel Hammond, the reader may be left to judge from their own published narratives. There is no reason to distrust their own loyalty to King Charles. Accompanied, then, by the two governors of Carisbrooke and Cowes, they returned to the King at

Titchfield Place. Leaving their unwelcome companions to wait with Berkeley in the courtyard opposite the great gate, Ashburnham entered the King's presence to report the outcome of the mission. The unfortunate monarch explained : "What ! have you brought him hither ? Jack, thou hast undone me !" Ashburnham saw his mistake, and hastened to correct it by proposing to the King that, as they were four in number, they might easily dispose of the two governors. But the King would not hear of bloodshed, and, after a delay of two hours, during which he continued to hope for the appearance of the ship to take him out of England, the King commanded that Hammond and Basket should be admitted. He received them graciously, threw himself upon their honour, and agreed to go with them to the island.

On the afternoon of November 13th, the King and his party crossed to Cowes and slept that night at the inn. In the King's bedroom was a bedstead with the motto in carved and gilded letters at its head, "Remember thy end." This greatly affected His Majesty, who knelt and prayed fervently. On Sunday, November 14th, the King was conducted from Cowes, through the town of Newport—where a young lady offered him a rose—to Carisbrooke Castle, then, as now, the official residence of the governor. The castle at the time presented the appearance of a fortress and military barracks rather than that of an abode for royalty. But it was, in fact, a prison. On his first arrival, however, the King was treated more as a guest than as a prisoner. "He rode out every day for his recreation, when and where he pleased, and there was not the least appearance of restraint on any of his actions ; his faithful servants were permitted to repair to him, and all who desired

From a photograph by Valentine & Sons, Ltd., Dundee.

CARISBROOKÈ CASTLE.

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it were admitted into his presence without distinction." [1] Rich furniture and hangings were sent down from Hampton Court, and the apartments of the King were rendered more habitable with Persian and Turkey carpets, window curtains of crimson ; blue and white damask arras, and Turkey hangings of the Roman Emperors ; a bedstead covered with crimson velvet, trimmed and fringed with gold and silver lace ; high chairs of yellow wrought satin ; a smaller chair of crimson velvet, "which was Queen Elizabeth's," and "ewers, and candlesticks and caudle cups of silver." [2] The King's greyhound "Gypsey," which he had left at Hampton Court was also at his request sent to him. From the time of His Majesty's arrival at Carisbrooke, on November 14th, 1647, until April 24th, 1648, the King occupied the lodging of the governor of the Castle. The King's bedroom was a large chamber on the first or main floor, with mullioned windows looking towards the great gate of the Castle. The presence chamber was beneath, on a level with the ground.

No sooner was the King established in his residence, or his imprisonment, in Carisbrooke Castle, than he reopened negotiations with the Parliament. He offered as a basis of agreement, "to resign, during his own life, the power of the militia and the nomination to all the great offices, provided that, after his demise, these prerogatives should revert to the crown ; "[3] and, in the sphere of religion, he repeated his concession for the establishment of Presbyterianism for three years. But, at the instigation of the Independents and the army, Parliament paid no

(1) R. Worsley, "History of the Isle of Wight," quoted in the "Castle of Carisbrooke," 33.

(2) Fea, 24.

(3) Hume, v., 264, 265.

attention to these offers ; but framed four proposals of its own, which, on the 24th of December, were submitted to His Majesty at Carisbrooke, by a body of Commissioners, of whom the Earl of Denbigh was chief. By the first proposal, the King " was required to invest Parliament with the military power for twenty years, together with an authority to levy whatever money should be necessary for executing it : and, even after the twenty years should be elapsed, they reserved a right of resuming the same authority whenever they should declare the safety of the Kingdom to require it. By the second, the King was to recall all his proclamations and declarations against the Parliament, and acknowledge that assembly to have taken arms in their just and necessary defence. By the third, he was to annul all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage, which had passed the great seal since it had been carried from London by Lord Keeper Littleton ; and, at the same time, renounce for the future the power of making peers without consent of Parliament. By the fourth, he must give the two Houses power to adjourn as they thought proper." Propositions of such a nature it was clearly impossible for the King to accept, and he was strengthened in his resolution to reject them by the secret advice of the Scottish Commissioners in London, who had opposed the measures of the English Parliament, and who now promised His Majesty that they would themselves come to Carisbrooke, and treat with him, in the name of Scotland, on far better conditions. Accordingly, nearly at the same time with Lord Denbigh and his five colleagues, the Scottish Lords Lauderdale, Loudoun and Lanrick, arrived at the Castle. And while the King rejected the proposals of Parliament, requiring instead a personal treaty, he signed

with the Scots a document known as "The Engagement," wherein the King was promised the intervention of a Scottish army to re-establish him in his just rights, on condition that he would confirm the Presbyterian establishment for three years in England, himself and his friends not being required to conform to it ; and that, at the end of that term, the Assembly of Divines should be consulted, and that he should settle definitely, in concert with Parliament, the constitution of the Church. It was agreed also that, to aid the Scottish army, the Cavaliers all over the kingdom should take arms ; that Ormond should reassume the command of the Royalist party in Ireland ; that the King himself, so soon as he should have rejected the four proposals of the Parliament, should escape from the island and proceed to the borders of Scotland, to Berwick or some other place, and wait in liberty for the moment of action.

On December 28th the King summoned the Parliamentary Commissioners to his presence, and was prepared to hand to them in a sealed packet his answer to their proposals. But this Denbigh refused to receive, declaring that his commission were empowered to bring back only the adoption or the rejection of the four bills. The King then read aloud to the commission his rejection of their proposals. The Commissioners withdrew, held a short conference with Hammond the governor, and, on December 29th, returned to Westminster. The Scottish Commissioners left Carisbrooke at the same time.

A ship, sent by the Queen, had been cruising for some time, in Southampton Water, and the King now turned his attention to the means of joining it. A few hours after the departure of the Commissioners, while the King was discussing with Ashburnham and Berkeley the means of escape

prepared for the following night, the gates of the Castle were closed, entrance was forbidden to strangers, the guards everywhere were doubled, and almost all of the King's servants, Ashburnham and Berkeley, Legge, Drs. Hammond and Sheldon, received orders forthwith to quit the island. Harrington, Herbert, Mildmay, Titus, Firebrace and Dowcett were the only royal attendants permitted to remain. The King sent for Colonel Hammond, and there followed a painful interview, in which the governor refused every request of His Majesty—the liberty to go abroad, even the presence of one of his Chaplains ; and the King reproached the governor with betraying the trust which he had reposed in him.

To the King's rejection of the four proposals, the Parliament rejoined by voting that no more addresses be made to the King, nor any letters or messages be received from him ; and that it be treason for any one, without leave of the two Houses, to have any intercourse with him. This measure was carried through both Houses by the middle of January, 1648. The vote of the Commons was 141 for the measure, 92 against it. In the attenuated House of Lords, only the Earls of Warwick and Manchester voted against.

The Scottish Commissioners withdrew from London and returned to Scotland, to carry out the provisions of their engagement with the King.

By the Parliament's vote of No-Addresses (as it was called) the King was in reality dethroned, and the whole constitution of England formally overthrown. At the same time, the fanatical section of the officers of the army in a meeting at Windsor Castle, with Oliver Cromwell as president, resolved " That it is our duty, if ever the Lord brings us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of

blood, to an account for that blood he hath shed, and mischief he hath done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations."

And, not content with their Parliamentary vote, the republican party of Cromwell and Ireton proceeded to do what men have done before and since (as in the case of Mary Stuart and Marie Antoinette) when they have determined to destroy their sovereign —they published the blackest calumnies against the character of King Charles—the poisoning his father, the betraying Rochelle, the contriving of the Irish massacre, the planning to let loose the wild Irish upon England, the course of tyranny, bloodthirstiness and duplicity towards his godly subjects. And yet it is safe to affirm that fully four-fifths of the people of England desired King Charles for their King! Energetic and formidable protests were sent forth from all parts of the kingdom. "Now at last," cried the Cavaliers, "are fulfilled those accusations and predictions, so often treated as chimeras and calumnies," and on all sides, crowds of voices hitherto wavering, joined them in denouncing this execrable treason. Before there was time for the King to answer the declarations of Parliament (which, however, he did through the public press) several answers appeared, emanating from the spontaneous zeal of private citizens. In the Isle of Wight itself, Captain Burley, a half-pay naval officer, had the drum beat through the streets of Newport, and, collecting a body of labourers, children and women, put himself at their head to go and release the King from prison. The attempt was frustrated immediately, and Burley was hanged as guilty of having made war against the King in his Parliament![1]

(1) Cf. Hume, v., 265; Guizot, 373.

Meanwhile, during the winter of 1647-48, and the spring and summer of 1648, the King himself was kept in very close confinement in Carisbrooke Castle. He could no longer go outside the walls. His only exercise was walking upon the battlements, from which a wide and beautiful expanse of country can be seen ; or playing at the game of bowls on a green that had been formed for the purpose out of an old parade ground of the Castle.

A newspaper of the day records that " the bowling alley made for His Majesty's use is finished. It is a very compleat one and pleaseth the King exceeding well. The bowls being brought thither, His Majesty was very merry at play with Colonel Hammond our Governor, and is very free in his expressions to the Governor and other officers. There is a very fine banqueting house making at the bowling alley, and the guilder and painters are at work. His Majesty often views the workmen, asketh some questions, but seldom finds fault with anything." [1] But wherever the King went, he was attended closely by guards whom the governor could trust—at exercise, at meals ; only in his own chamber was he allowed any privacy, although sentinels were placed at the doors of his apartments and paced beneath his windows. But, closely guarded as he was, such was the ingenuity of the King, and such the generous devotion of his friends, that he found means to carry on correspondence at the same time with the Queen in Paris, the Duke of York at St. James's, the Scottish Commissioners in Edinburgh and the Royalist leaders in England. Ashburnham, Berkeley and Legge, with Major Bosville, made their rendezvous at the Marquess of Hertford's mansion, Netley Castle, near Southampton, and

(1) Fea, 32.

kept up a correspondence through the King's laundress, Mrs. Wheeler, and her assistant, Mary Mildmay. Besides these friends of the King, a loyal gentleman of the island, Mr. Edward Worsley, offered his services through Firebrace, as did also a Mr. John Newland, Mr. Richard Osborne, and two attendants within the Castle, Captain John Burroughs and Francis Cressett. The principal agents near London were Dr. Frazier, Mrs. Jane Whorwood and the Countess of Carlisle. There can be but little doubt, however, that the Countess was playing the traitor all the time. Secretary Nicholas, writing in 1654 to Lord Clarendon, speaks of Lady Carlisle as "a very pernicious instrument" throughout the misfortunes of King Charles I.

The quiet dignity and the Christian patience, with which the King bore his misfortunes and the rigour of his imprisonment, impressed not only his own servants, but also the warders of the Castle. Of the latter more than one were moved to return to their allegiance to their sovereign. "The great source whence the King derived consolation amid all his calamities was undoubtedly religion—a principle which in him seems to have contained nothing fierce or gloomy, nothing which enraged him against his adversaries, or terrified him with the dismal prospect of futurity. While everything around him bore a hostile aspect, while friends, family, relations, whom he passionately loved, were placed at a distance, and unable to serve him, he reposed himself with confidence in the arms of that Being, Who penetrates and sustains all nature, and whose severities, if received with piety and resignation, he regarded as the surest pledges of unexhausted favour."[1] In his solitude, writes Sir Thomas Herbert, the

(1) Hume, v., 267.

King "carefully observed his usual times set apart for private devotion and writing. The Sacred Scripture was the book he most delighted in ; read often in Bishop Andrewes' Sermons, Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' Dr. Hammond's Works, 'Villapandus upon Ezekiel,' etc., Sandys his 'Paraphrase upon King David's Psalms,' Herbert's divine poems, and also re-created himself in reading 'Godfrey of Bulloign,' written in Italian by Torquato Tasso, and done into English heroic verse by Mr. Fairfax ; a poem His Majesty much commended, as he did 'Ariosto,' by Sir John Harrington, a facetious poet, much esteemed by Prince Henry, his master ; Spenser's 'Fairy Queen,' and the like, for alleviating his spirits after serious studies. And at this time it was (as is presumed) he composed his book called 'Suspiria Regalia,' published soon after his death, and entitled 'The King's Portraiture in his Solitudes and Sufferings.'"[1] This was the celebrated *Eikon Basilike*. "It records, it is hardly necessary to say, the chief events which occurred between the years 1640-1648 of his reign. The first seventeen chapters treat of those which immediately preceded the war. So far the Book had advanced, when it was lost on the field of Naseby. After that time, on its being restored to the King, he added from time to time eleven more chapters, often revising and transcribing the whole in the enforced leisure of his Captivity, during which transcriptions it is easy to understand that insertions were made in the previous chapters. It concludes with meditations upon Death, after the paper of Non-addresses and his closer imprisonment at Carisbrooke Castle."[2]

(1) Herbert, "Memoirs," Fea, 96.
(2) "The Royalist Calendar for 1923," edited by Catherine Mary Phillimore.

An exceedingly interesting side-light is thrown upon the King's writing at Carisbrooke by the lately printed extracts from the letters of "William Levett, page to King Charles, who stood behind his master's chair, watching intently the hand of the Captive King as it penned page after page of his manuscript."[1] Here follow Levett's statements :—

"If anyone has a desire to know the true Author of a book entitled Icon Basilike, I, one of the Servants of King Charles the First, in his bed-chamber, do declare, when his said Majesty was Prisoner in the Isle of Wight, that I read over the above-mentioned Book (which was long before the said Book was printed) in his bed-chamber, writ with His Majesty's own hand with several interlinings. Moreover, His Majesty, King Charles the First, told me :

"'Sure, Levett, you do design to get this book by heart,' having often seen me reading it. I myself often saw the King write that which was printed in that book, and did daily read the manuscript of his own hand on many sheets of paper. . . . I do truly believe that there is not a page in the book but what I have read under the King's hand, before it was printed."

"After the Treaty of Newport (1648), when the King was hurried, in the dead of night, during the time of His Majesty making himself ready, he concerned himself only to secure this book of his. He gave me in charge the said book, which I faithfully presented to His Majesty that night at Hurst Castle."

"Mr. Richard Royston told me this day that his late Majesty of blessed memory, King Charles the First, did send to him about Michaelmas before his Martyrdom, to provide a Press, for he had a book

(1) "The Royalist Calendar for 1923," edited by Catherine Mary Phillimore.

of his own to print. That, upon Xmas Eve, the said Book came to his hand, brought to him by Mr. Symons, a Divine (since deceased), that his late Majesty did send with the copy in MS. a crown with wreaths of thorn. But, before the printing thereof, and immediately after Xmas holliday, 1648, His Majesty sent another Figure to be engraven in copper, and annexed to the book with C.R. in it, and instead thereof that sent with his own effigy printed with the first book."

"Signed and sealed William Levett, Oct. 16, 1690)"[1]

"He translated into English Dr. Sanderson's book, *De Juramentis*.

"In many of his books he delighted himself with the motto, *Dum Spiro, Spero:* which he wrote frequently as the emblem of his hopes as well as endeavours for a happy agreement with his Parliament. . . . In one of his books he writ this distique :—

> 'Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere vitam :
> Fortiter ille facit qui miser esse potest.'

"And out of another poet, against the levelling and anti-monarchical spirits which predominated at that time :—

> 'Fallitur egregio quisquis sub principe credit,
> Servitium ; nunquam libertas gratior extat,
> Quam sub Rege pio.'

with many other which are memorable, and express his delight in learning. For he understood authors in the originals—whether Greek, Latin, French, Spanish or Italian, which three last he spoke perfectly ; and none was better read in histories of all sorts, which rendered him accomplished, and would

(1) "The Royalist Calendar for 1923," edited by Catherine Mary Phillimore. *Vide* Appendix, Note F.

discourse well in arts and sciences not unfitted for any subject."[1]

On the night of March 20th, the King made his first actual attempt to escape from Carisbrooke Castle. The plan agreed upon was as follows :— at the time appointed, Henry Firebrace, a page of His Majesty's bed-chamber, "was to throw something up against the window of the King's chamber as a signal that all was clear, on which the King was to come out and let himself down by a cord provided for that purpose ; being descended, Firebrace, under cover of the darkness, was to conduct him across the court to the main wall of the Castle, from which he was again to descend into the ditch by means of another cord, with a stick fastened across it serving as a seat ; beyond this wall was the counterscarp, which, being low, might be easily ascended. Near this place, Mr. Worsley and Mr. Osborne were to be ready mounted with a spare horse, with pistols and boots, for the King, while Mr. Newland remained at the seaside with a large boat, ready to have conveyed His Majesty wherever he should have thought fit to direct. At the appointed time, when all things were in readiness, and every one instructed in his part, Firebrace gave the expected signal, on which the King attempted to get out of the window, but found, when it was too late, that he had been fatally mistaken, for although he found an easy passage for his head, he stuck fast between the breast and shoulders, without the power of advancing or returning, but, having the instant before mistrusted something of this nature, he had tied a piece of cord to the bar of the window, by means of which he might force himself back again. Firebrace heard him groan, without being able to afford him the least assistance.

(1) Herbert, Fea, 97.

However, the King, at length, with much difficulty having released himself from the window, placed a candle in it as an intimation that his attempt was frustrated."[1]

It was not until some three weeks afterwards, that Colonel Hammond became aware that his prisoner had nearly escaped him. He removed Firebrace from attendance upon the King, and he caused another suite of apartments to be prepared for the King's accommodation. These rooms are now in ruins ; but it is believed that they lay along the north curtain-wall of the Castle, where a window is still pointed out as that from which the King made his second attempt at escape. To these new apartments, His Majesty was transferred on April 24th, 1648, and here he remained during the rest of his residence at Carisbrooke.

We must return to the state of the kingdom, every part of which " was agitated with tumults, insurrections, conspiracies, discontents. Complaints against the oppression of ship-money, against the tyranny of the Star-Chamber, had roused the people to arms in 1642 ; but now, having gained a complete victory over the Crown, they found themselves loaded with a multiplicity of taxes formerly unknown ; and scarcely an appearance of law and liberty remained in the administration. All orders of men were inflamed with indignation at seeing the military prevail over the civil power, and King and Parliament at once reduced to subjection by a mercenary army."[2] While the Scottish Royalists under the leadership of the Duke of Hamilton and his brother, the Earl of Lanrick, were endeavouring, against the opposi-

(1) R. Worsley, " History of the Isle of Wight," cf. Firebrace's Narrative, Fea, 239, 240.
(2) Hume, v., 270.

tion of the Earl of Argyle and the Covenanting ministers, to raise an army of 40,000 men for the invasion of England, the Royalists in England and Wales anticipated them. Early in April, the London 'prentices, joined by the Thames watermen, fought for some forty hours with the militia-guard, possessed themselves of Ludgate and Newgate, and raised the cry of "God and King Charles." They were overcome only by a charge of the "Ironsides" Cavalry.

On April 22nd, 1648, in obedience to the command of his father, James, Duke of York, escaped from St. James's Palace, in the disguise of a woman, and made his way safely to Holland. There remained in England now of the King's children only the Princess Elizabeth and the little Duke of Gloucester.

The Presbyterians had become predominant again in Parliament, and, notwithstanding the subtle efforts of Cromwell and Ireton to prevent the resolution, on April 28th, the Commons voted (1) that they would not change the fundamental government of the kingdom by King, Lords and Commons; (2) that the proposals made to the King at Hampton Court should be made the basis of the measures it was essential to adopt to re-establish public peace; (3) that notwithstanding the vote of the preceding 3rd of January, forbidding any further address to the King, every member should be at liberty to propose what he should think requisite for the good of the country.

In Wales, the gentry had proclaimed the King, and certain Presbyterian officers, with Colonel Poyer, at their head, seized Pembroke and Chepstow Castles, and all South Wales was presently in such a flame of Royalist reaction, that Cromwell was obliged to leave London in May with five regiments to meet this outbreak; but it was not until July that he was able to gain control over the Principality. The

Royalists of Kent made Goring, Earl of Norwich, their general, took possession of Sandwich, Dover and other fortresses, and marched 7,000 strong to Rochester. In Essex and Hertfordshire, the royal standard was raised by Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle. The Earl of Holland and the young Duke of Buckingham raised troops for the King in Surrey, and Sir Gilbert Byron, in Nottingham. While in the north, in preparation for the coming of the Scots, Prince Maurice surprised Pomfret Castle, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Colonel Musgrave made themselves masters of Berwick and Carlisle. The fleet, consisting of seventeen ships of war, which had been lying in the mouth of the Thames, put ashore their admiral, Rainsborough, and sailed for Holland, where the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York took the command. Everywhere the royal cause seemed to be about to break forth and sweep the kingdom to a great victory. It was thought that the King himself would soon be able to appear at the head of his victorious troops. And the coming of the Scots was expected with the greater impatience.

It is true that the King was planning another attempt at escape. The windows of his new apartments, to which he had been moved on April 24th, looked out through the north curtain of the Castle, upon the open country ; but they were secured by iron bars, between which it was impossible to pass. Accordingly, the King was supplied by his friends with small files and *aqua fortis* with which to cut away and corrode the iron stanchions of the window of his chamber, while the bars of a window on the back staircase were to be treated in the same way by his faithful attendants. All this was done, and the night of Sunday, May 28th, when three sentinels, who had been won over to the King, should be on

duty on the platform beneath the windows, was fixed for the attempt. The King had removed the bars and was on the point of passing through the window, when he became aware that the friendly warders had been removed and that strangers held their post. Upon this, he hastily drew back into his chamber, and placed in the window the light, which signified that the attempt was abandoned. At this moment, Colonel Hammond entered the room, "went to the window and viewing the bars shaked his head. His Majesty, being but a small distance from him, came unto him and said, 'How now, Hammond? What is the matter? What would you have?' To which Colonel Hammond replied, 'May it please your Majesty, I am come to take my leave of you, for I hear you are going away.' His Majesty hearing the said expressions returned no answer, but went away and took no further notice thereof."[1] The cause of the failure of this attempt is plain enough. Two of the three soldiers, who were supposed to have been won for the King, had turned traitors and warned the governor.

The King's condition was now deplorable. "An old little crumpling man, who lighted his fires, was the best companion he had for three months."[2] "From the time that his own servants were taken from him, the King would never suffer his hair to be cut, nor cared to have any new clothes; so that his aspect and appearance was very different from what it had used to be; otherwise his health was good, and he was much more cheerful in his discourses towards all men than could have been imagined, after such mortification of all kinds. He was not at all dejected in his spirits, but carried himself

(1) Quoted by Fea, 31.
(2) Sir P. Warwick's "Memoirs."

with the same majesty he had used to do. His hair was all grey, which, making all others very sad, made it thought he had sorrow in his countenance, which appeared only by that shadow."[1]

And meanwhile in England and Wales, the fair hopes of the royal cause were extinguished one after another. The truth is there was no well-concerted action on the part of the leaders, who in various parts of the kingdom found themselves at the head of loyal troops and with them had been able to seize important posts for the King. Fairfax drove the Royalists out of Kent ; but the Earl of Norwich succeeded in bringing a remnant of his force to Blackheath, and almost entering London. Foiled in that attempt, Norwich crossed the Thames at Greenwich and joined Sir Charles Lucas in Essex. Here they were joined in turn by Lord Capel and the Cavaliers of Hertfordshire. Together they threw themselves into Colchester, where they maintained themselves gallantly for eleven weeks, until August 27th, when famine alone forced their surrender. Fairfax (it has been thought, to gratify the malice of Ireton) treated his prisoners with barbarity, shooting in cold blood Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, and reserving the Earl of Norwich and Lord Capel[2] for a public execution. The force of the Earl of Holland met with no better success. It was defeated on July 10th, Lord Francis Villiers, younger brother of the Duke of Buckingham, was killed, and Lord Holland himself fell wounded into the hands of the enemy, to perish later on the block. Dr. Michael Hudson, King Charles' Chaplain and guide in the flight from Oxford in 1646, after suffering imprisonment in London House in 1646 and in

(1) Clarendon, vi., bk. xi., 152.
(2) Appendix, Note G.

the Tower in 1647, led a rising of Royalists in Lincolnshire in June, 1648. They were defeated at Stamford, and Dr. Hudson with the chief of his party fled to Woodcroft House, near Peterborough. The house was forced, most of the garrison were taken, but Hudson and a few others "went to the battlements, where they defended themselves for some time. At length, upon promise of quarter, they yielded; but when they had done so, the promise of quarter was broken. Hudson, being thrown over the battlements, caught hold of a spout, or out-stone, and there hung. But, his hands being cut off, he fell into the moat underneath, much wounded, and desired to come on land to die there. As he approached the shore, one of his enemies beat his brains out with the butt end of his musket."[1]

On July 4th, the Scottish army of 24,000 men, commanded by the Duke of Hamilton, had entered England. It was joined by Sir Marmaduke Langdale with 5,000 English. Lambert, the Parliamentary general, who had been sent to the north to check the Royalists in that quarter, was ordered now by Cromwell to fall back upon the Scottish army. Cromwell himself, who had been occupied from May to August in putting down the Royalists in Wales, was able by August 12th, to join the army of Lambert. The Scottish army, marching towards Manchester, had reached Preston on August 16th. Langdale, who held an advanced position, was attacked by Cromwell on the morning of the 17th, and routed after a very sharp struggle. The Parliamentary army then pressed on against the Scots, whom it obliged to fall back upon Warrington. At Winwick, on the 20th, a second battle was fought and the Scots were obliged to surrender officers and men. Hamilton

(1) Chr. Wordsworth, "Ecclesiastical Biography," v., 183. Note.

escaped with 3,000 horse into Cheshire, but he also was forced to surrender to Lambert. With the defeat of the Scottish army and the fall of Colchester, a war, which has been called the Second Civil War, came to an end. Though the Prince of Wales with the fleet had been for six weeks in the Downs, and though Ormond and Inchiquin were still upholding the name of King Charles in Ireland, the royal cause might seem to have been crushed more hopelessly than ever before. But yet, at this very time, so great was the dread of the return of Cromwell and his victorious army, that the Presbyterians, or rather the Constitutional party in Parliament, sought to foil the Independents by entering once more into negotiations with the King. Huntington, lately a major in Cromwell's own regiment, publicly denounced, in a memorial to the Upper House, the intrigues of the lieutenant-general, his promises first, and then his perfidy to the King, the audacity of his ambition, his contempt of Parliament, of the laws, of the common duties and rights of men, the pernicious principles, the threatening designs which sometimes pierced through his hypocrisy, and broke out in his familiar conversations. The Lords ordered the memorial to be read, and Huntington made oath of its truth. (August 8th.) He purposed likewise to present it to the Commons ; but so great was the terror already inspired by the name of Cromwell, that no member would take charge of the memorial.

As a preliminary to these measures of the Constitutionalists, on August 24th, the vote of January 3rd, of No-Addresses, was repealed, and on September 1st, arrangements were completed for a treaty between the King in person and Commissioners from both Houses of Parliament.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE TREATY OF NEWPORT.

1648.

The King accepts the proposals for a treaty—Takes up his residence in Newport—His court—The Parliamentary Commissioners—Opening of the Treaty—The appearance and demeanour of the King—The proposals of the Parliament—Concessions of the King—Plans for escape—Letter to Ormond—Demands of the army—The King's final answer to the Parliament—His parting address to the Commissioners—His letter to the Prince of Wales—The army surrounds the King—He is urged to escape—He refuses—He is carried to Hurst Castle—His imprisonment there.

A COMMITTEE of three persons had been sent by Parliament in August to convey to the King the resolutions of the two Houses, and to propose a treaty (the duration of which was limited to six weeks) on the basis of the Hampton Court propositions, to be held between the King and fifteen Parliamentary Commissioners, in Newport in the Isle of Wight, at such time as the King might propose, and with the attendance of such of his servants as His Majesty might require. The King told the messengers that their address being for peace doubled their welcome, since peace was that which he most earnestly desired. He sent them back with letters to the Parliament, accepting the proposal for a treaty with their Commissioners in the town of Newport, giving a list of his own friends and counsellours whom he wished to have with him, and engaging his royal word that he would not depart from the island during the six weeks

of the treaty, nor until three weeks had elapsed after its close.

So soon as His Majesty heard that the Parliamentary Commissioners were on their way, he took his final leave of Carisbrooke Castle on September 6th, and removed to the adjoining town of Newport, where he was lodged in the house of Sir William Hopkins, which had been fitted to receive him. Here his old servants were permitted to attend him. Here came, then, to the last court of their sovereign the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hertford, the Earls of Lindsey and Southampton, James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, William Juxon, Bishop of London, Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, Sir Foulke Greville, Sir Philip Warwick, the Rev. Doctors Hammond, Sheldon, Morley, Sanderson and Turner, John Ashburnham, William Legge and others of less note. The Royalists took up their lodgings at the George Inn on the south side of the High Street, the site of which is now occupied by shops. The Free Grammar School of Newport was used as the presence chamber for the King's private court, and also for Divine Service, since the parish Churches had fallen at this time into the hands of the intruding Presbyterians. In this Grammar School, Dr. Sanderson preached before His Majesty. When Dr. Sanderson took leave of the King in his last attendance on him, His Majesty requested him to betake himself to the writing cases of conscience for the good of posterity. To which his answer was "That he was now grown old and unfit to write cases of conscience." But the King was so bold with him as to say, "It was the simplest answer he ever heard from Dr. Sanderson; for no *young* man was fit to be a judge, or to write cases of conscience."

The Parliamentary Commissioners put up at the Bull Inn, subsequently called the Bugle. The daily meetings of the treaty were held in the old Town Hall, a picturesque gabled, Dutch-looking structure, built over a series of Gothic arches. Hither the King drove daily in his coach. In the hall of the Treaty, the King sat at the end of the room beneath a canopy of state, surrounded by his retinue. The Commissioners of the Parliament were placed on either side of a long table before him. All the Commissioners, with the exception of Sir Harry Vane and possibly also Lord Say and Sele, were favourable to peace.

The conference was opened officially on the 18th of September. But the King soon found that, notwithstanding a show of state and freedom, he was expected not to treat, but merely to submit to those who held him in their power. The counsellours of the King might stand grouped around his throne, but they were not suffered to open their lips. It was with the King alone that the Parliament insisted upon discussing its terms. He might retire, when he thought fit, into an adjoining room, to take the advice of his friends ; but in the treaty room he must meet his adversaries alone. " He alone, during the transactions of two months, was obliged to maintain the argument against fifteen men of the greatest parts and capacity in both Houses ; and no advantage was ever gained over him."[1] " At the sight of their King thus solitary, thus thrown upon his own resources, an inward emotion thrilled the hearts of all present. Charles' hair had turned grey ; an expression of habitual sadness had blended with the haughtiness of his glance ; his deportment, his voice, his every feature, revealed a proud, but yet

(1) Hume, vol. v., chap. lix., p. 273.

subdued soul, alike incapable of struggling against its destiny, or of yielding to it ; a touching and singular mixture of grandeur without power, of presumption without hope."[1] "The proposals of Parliament still the same, except a few unimportant modifications, were successively read and examined. Charles entered with a good grace into the discussion, calm, ready to answer any questions, taking no offence at objections, and skilfully making the most of the good points of his case ; astonishing, in short, his most prejudiced adversaries by the firmness of his mind, his gentleness, and his knowledge of the affairs and laws of the kingdom."[1] "A quick conception, a cultivated understanding, a chaste elocution, a dignified manner—by these accomplishments he triumphed in all discussions of cool and temperate reasoning. 'The King is much changed,' said the Earl of Salisbury to Sir Philip Warwick, 'he is extremely improved of late.' 'No,' replied Sir Philip, 'he was always so ; but you are at last sensible of it.' Sir Henry Vane, discoursing with his fellow-commissioners, drew an argument from the King's uncommon abilities why the terms of pacification must be rendered more strict and rigid."[2] "Every night," says Sir Philip Warwick in his Memoirs, "when the King was alone about 8 o'clock, except when he was writing his own private letters, he commanded me to come to him, and he looked over the notes of that day's treaty, and the reasons upon which it moved, and so dictated the heads of a despatch which from time to time he made concerning this treaty unto his present Majesty, then Prince. About the latter end of the treaty, finding it was like to be ineffectual, 'I wish,' says

(1) Guizot, 395.
(2) Hume, vol. v., chap. lix., 274.

he, ' I had consulted nobody but my own self, for then, where in honour or conscience I could not have complied, I could have early been positive. For with Job I would willingly have rather chosen misery than sin.'

" I never saw him shed tears but once, and he turned his head presently away, for he was then dictating to me somewhat in a window, and he was loth to be discerned ; and the lords and gentlemen were then in the room, though his back was turned towards them ; but I can safely take my oath they were the biggest drops that I ever saw fall from an eye, but he recollected himself and soon stifled them.

" I remember one evening when I waited on the King with the notes that passed that day (and then sometimes he would ease himself by some discourse on the bye), His Majesty told me that he should be like a captain, that had defended a place well, and his superiors not being able to relieve him, he had leave to surrender it ; ' but,' he replied, ' though they cannot relieve me in the time I demand it, let them relieve me when they can ; else I will hold out till I make some stone in this building my tombstone, and so I will do,' says he, ' by the Church of England.' Another time talking of the unreasonableness of the two Houses' propositions about the Civil Government, ' Well,' says he, ' they will ask so much and use it so ill that the people of England will be one day glad to relodge the power they had taken from the Crown, where it is due, and I have offended against them more in the things I have granted them than in anything I ever designed against them.' "[1]

The proposals of the Parliament were eleven in number : 1st—That the King should recall all

(1) Fea, 110, 111. Note.

his declarations against the Parliament during the war, and that he should acknowledge that Parliament had taken arms in its own defence. This was designed, of course, to secure amnesty for all rebels during the last six years. To the first half of the proposition the King assented ; but to the falsehood and indignity of the second half he scrupled for a long time to agree, and yielded only when he found that peace could be obtained on no other terms.

2nd. The Church. The Parliament insisted on the establishment of Presbyterianism, the sale of the Chapter lands, the abolition of all forms of prayer, and strict laws against Roman Catholicks. The King offered to retrench everything which he did not esteem of apostolical institution ; he was willing to abolish archbishops, deans, prebends, canons ; he offered that the Chapter lands should be let at low leases during ninety-nine years ; he consented that the present Church government should continue three years. After that time, he required not that anything should be restored to Bishops but the power of ordination, and even that power to be exercised by advice of the Presbyters. But as to the total abolishing of Episcopacy or the alienation of Church lands or the taking the Covenant, he would by no means give his assent.

3rd. That Parliament should retain for twenty years the power over the militia and the army. The King agreed.

4th. The annulling of the Cessation in Ireland, and leaving the management of that affair to Parliament. To this the King assented.

5th and 6th. Concerning the vacating of titles after the Great Seal was carried to Oxford, and the paying of public debts. To this the King assented.

7th. A Bill of Attainder and banishment against

seven persons, the Marquess of Newcastle, Lord Digby, Lord Byron, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Grenville, Sir Francis Doddington and Judge Jenkins. The King absolutely refused compliance. Their banishment for a limited time he was willing to agree to.

8th. That Parliament should have power to confer offices and appoint magistrates for twenty years. The King agreed.

9th. The King acknowledged the validity of the Parliamentary Great Seal, and gave up his own.

10th. His Majesty consented to the settling of the London militia and the ratification of all the privileges desired by the city.

11th. The King renounced the power of the Wards, and accepted one hundred thousand pounds a year in lieu of it.

It will be observed that "of all the demands of the Parliament the King refused only two (Nos. 2 and 7). Though he relinquished almost every power of the Crown, he would neither give up his friends to punishment, nor desert what he esteemed his religious duty. The severe repentance which he had undergone for abandoning Strafford had, no doubt, confirmed him in the resolution never again to be guilty of a like error. His long solitude and severe afflictions had contributed to rivet him the more in those religious principles which had ever a considerable influence over him. His desire, however, of finishing an accommodation, induced him to go as far in both these particulars as he thought any-wise consistent with his duty."[1] Hallam points out that Parliament "had not mitigated in any degree the rigorous conditions so often proposed; nor did the King during this Treaty obtain any

(1) Hume, v., lix., 275.

reciprocal concession worth mentioning in return for his surrender of almost all that could be demanded."[1] Yet five times (October 2nd, 11th, 27th ; November 2nd, 24th) did Parliament vote that the King's concessions were insufficient.

During the progress of the Treaty, in the month of October, the King was in correspondence with his host in Newport, Sir William Hopkins, arranging his escape from the island. On October 9th, the day on which his Majesty had consented to transfer to the Parliament for twenty years the command of the army, he wrote to Sir William, " To tell you the truth, my great concession this morning was made only with a view to facilitate my approaching escape ; without that hope, I should never have yielded in this manner. If I had refused, I could, without much sorrow, have returned to my prison ; but as it is, I own it would break my heart, for I have done that which my escape alone can justify."[2] The King " was acquainted with all that passed in the private councils of his enemies ; with their design to bring him to trial and to the scaffold ; and he had also received a letter informing him of an intention to assassinate him during the Treaty. Can we be surprised if, under such circumstances, he sought to escape ? Nor was his parole an obstacle. He conceived himself released from it by misconduct on the part of Hammond, who at last, aware of that persuasion, prevailed on him, though with considerable difficulty, to renew his pledge. After this renewal he refused to escape even when every facility was offered him."[3]

Although the King had consented to Article 4

(1) Hallam, " Constitutional History of England," II., x., 209, 210.
(2) Guizot, 396, 397.
(3) Lingard, x., 247. Note. Cf. Disraeli, " Commentaries."

of the Treaty, by which the affairs of Ireland should be left in the hands of Parliament, he wrote on October 10th to the Marquess of Ormond, who had been sent by the Queen and the Prince to resume the government of that island and to make peace with the Roman Catholick party, "Obey my wife's orders, not mine, until I shall let you know I am free from all restraint; nor trouble yourself about my concessions as to Ireland; they will not lead to anything." The King knew that, besides the Parliament, there was the army, which had both the will and the power to set aside any agreement, which might be made between him and the Parliament; and hence arose his conviction that the treaty would come to nothing. When Parliament became aware of this letter, they "insisted that the King should order the lord-lieutenant to desist from his policy. This the King eluded for some time, alleging that, if the treaty took effect, their desire was already granted by his previous concessions; if it did not, no order of his would be obeyed. At last the King consented, and wrote to Ormond the letter required."[1]

Such was the state of the negotiation, when the time allotted by the Parliament expired on November 5th; and a prolongation of twenty days was voted.

The army had conquered completely the Royalist rising of 1648, and during the autumn the question was agitated by the officers of bringing the King to trial. Of this movement Ireton, Ludlow and Ingoldsby were the ostensible leaders, while the chief instigator, Oliver Cromwell, kept discreetly in the background, and deprecated in public all violent measures. On November 16th, an assembly of officers drew up a remonstrance of great length,

(1) Lingard, x., 243, 247. Note.

in which they complained of the treaty then in progress with the King ; they demanded the punishment of the King for the blood spilt during the war ; and required the dissolution of Parliament, and a more equal representation in future. This remonstrance was presented to the House of Commons alone. It excited a violent debate ; but the Presbyterian party prevailed in causing the remonstrance to be laid aside without consideration, and urged their Commissioners in Newport to bring the treaty to a speedy conclusion.

In Newport, the King was besought by his own council and clergy "to consider the safety of his person, even for the Church's and his people's sakes, who had some hope still left whilst he should be preserved, which could not but be attended with many blessings ; whereas, if he were destroyed, there was scarce a possibility to preserve them : that the moral and unavoidable necessity that lay upon him, obliged him to do anything that was not sin."[1] To this His Majesty repeated his unalterable determination never to consent to abolish Episcopacy out of the Church, nor to alienate absolutely the Church lands, nor to abandon his friends. The utmost that he would concede, even in this last urgent hour of distress, was to suspend the Episcopal power, as well in point of ordination of ministers, as jurisdiction, and to vest the Church lands in the Crown, till he and the two Houses should agree what government should be established for the future ; to leave the compositions of his followers to the mercy of Parliament ; to consent to the trial of the seven persons excepted from pardon, provided they were allowed the benefit of the ancient laws. This was the King's final answer, given on November 27th.

(1) Clarendon, vi., bk. xi., 181.

It was urged upon the King, in private, "that if he assented not to the Parliament's proposals, the treaty betwixt him and them would break immediately, and his life would then be in danger; he was sure he knew it." To which his answer was, "I have done what I can to bring my conscience to a compliance with their proposals and I cannot and I will not, lose my conscience to save my life;" and, within a very short time after, he told Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Morley, or one of them that then waited with him, "That the remembrance of two errors did much afflict him, which were his assent to the Earl of Strafford's death, and the abolishing of episcopacy in Scotland; and that, if God ever restored him to be in a peaceable possession of his Crown, he would demonstrate his repentance by a public confession and a voluntary penance (I think, barefast) from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's Cathedral, and desire the people to intercede with God for his pardon."[1]

On November 28th, when the Commissioners came to take leave of the King, His Majesty addressed them with a sadness of countenance and in a tone of voice, which drew tears from his attendants. "My lords," he said to them, "you come to take leave of me, and I can scarcely believe we shall ever meet again; but the will of God be done! I give him thanks, I have made my peace with Him, and I shall without fear suffer all it shall please men to do unto me. My Lords, you cannot be ignorant that in my ruin you may already perceive your own, and that near at hand. I am not ignorant of the plot contrived against me and mine; but nothing afflicts me so much as the spectacle of the sufferings of my

(1) Walton's "Lives," Bishop Sanderson. Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biography," v., 487–8.

people, and the presentiment of the evils prepared for them by men, who always talking of the public good, only seek to gratify their own ambition."[1]

The following letter, which Clarendon says should be preserved in letters of gold, was begun a few days earlier, though it is dated November 29th :—

The King to the Prince of Wales.[2]

"Newport, November 29, 1648.

"SON,—

"By what hath been said, you may see how long we have laboured in search of peace. Do not you be discouraged to tread those ways, to restore yourself to your right ; but prefer the way of peace. Show the greatness of your mind, rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning than punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristianly this implacable disposition is in our evil willers, you would avoid that spirit. Censure us not, for having parted with too much of our own right ; the price was great ; the commodity was security to us, peace to our people. And we are confident another parliament would remember how useful a king's power is to a people's liberty.

"Of how much have we divested ourself, that we and they might meet again in a due parliament —any way to agree the bounds for prince and people ! And in this, give belief to our experience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative than what is really and intrinsically for the good of our subjects (not satisfaction of favourites). And, if you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any

(1) Appendix to Evelyn's "Memoirs," ii., 128. Lingard x., 247, 248.

(2) Halliwell, ii., 454–457.

you would be extraordinarily gracious to. You may perceive all men trust their treasure where it returns them interest ; and if princes, like the sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams and rivers trust them with, they will not grudge, but pride themselves, to make them up an ocean.

" These considerations may make you a great prince, as your father is now a low one ; and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken. For subjects have learnt (we dare say) that victories over their princes are but triumphs over themselves ; and so will be more unwilling to changes hereafter.

" The English nation are a sober people ; however at present under some infatuation. We know not but this may be the last time we may speak to you or the world publicly. We are sensible into what hands we are fallen ; yet we bless God we have those inward refreshments, that the malice of our enemies cannot disturb. We have learnt to own ourself by retiring into ourself, and therefore can the better digest what befalls us ; not doubting but God can restrain our enemies' malice, and turn their fierceness unto His praise.

" To conclude, if God give you success, use it humbly and far from revenge. If He restore you to your right upon hard conditions, whatever you promise, keep. Those men, which have forced laws which they were bound to observe, will find their triumphs full of troubles. Do not think anything in this world worth obtaining by foul and unjust means. You are the son of our love ; and, as we direct you to what we have recommended to you, so we assure you, we do not more affectionately pray for you (to whom we

are a natural parent) than we do, that the ancient glory and renown of this nation be not buried in irreligion and fanatic humour : and that all our subjects (to whom we are a political parent) may have such sober thoughts as to seek their peace in the orthodox profession of the Christian religion, as it was established, since the Reformation in this kingdom, and not in new revelations ; and that the ancient laws, with the interpretation according to the known practices, may once again be a hedge about them ; that you may in due time govern, and they be governed, as in the fear of the Lord.

" C. R.

" The commissioners are gone ; the corn is now in the ground ; we expect the harvest. If the fruit be peace, we hope the God of peace will, in time, reduce all to truth and order again ; which that He may do is the prayer of

" C. R.

" Newport, November 29, 1648."

On November 28th, the Parliamentary Commissioners left the island. With them went Colonel Hammond, whose command at Carisbrooke devolved upon Bowerman, an officer of the militia, at Newport upon Rolfe, a major in the army—the last, a man who had been charged with a design to take the King's life six months before. " On November 29, towards evening, a man in disguise said to one of the King's people, ' Troops have just landed in the island ; tell the king he will be carried away to-night.' Charles immediately sent for the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Lindsey, and Colonel Edward Cook, an officer who possessed his confidence, and asked how they could ascertain whether the report was true.

It was useless to question Major Rolfe : nothing but short, vague answers were to be got from him. 'The King may sleep quietly to-night ; upon my life, no one will disturb him to-night.' Cook offered to mount his horse, ride round the coast, and in particular go to Carisbrooke, where it was said the troops had arrived, personally to ascertain what was going on. The night was dark, it rained heavily, the service was a dangerous one ; the King hesitated to accept it, but Cook insisted and went off. He found the garrison of Carisbrooke reinforced ; there were ten or twelve fresh officers, by whom Captain Bowerman, who commanded there, was almost openly watched ; there was altogether an air of mysterious agitation. Cook returned in all haste to bring the King this information, when, on reaching Newport, towards midnight, he found the house the King occupied surrounded with guards ; there were some under every window, even inside the house, at the very door of the King's chamber, into which the smoke of their pipes penetrated. There was now no room for doubt ; the two lords conjured the King to attempt an escape that very hour, at all risks. This counsel was not agreeable to the King ; he alleged the difficulty, the irritation it would cause the army. 'If they do take me,' said he, 'they must preserve me for their own sakes, for neither party can secure its own interests without joining mine with them.' 'Take heed, sir,' said Lindsey, 'lest your Majesty fall into such hands as will not steer by such rules of policy. Remember Hampton Court.' 'Colonel,' said Richmond to Cook, 'how did you pass ?' Cook : 'I have the word.' Richmond : 'Could you enable me to pass too ?' Cook : 'I have no doubt of it.' Richmond put on a trooper's cloak ; they went out, passed through all the stations, and

returned without any interruption. Standing with the King near a window, the two lords passionately renewed their entreaties ; the Colonel, alone, drenched with rain, stood alone before the fire. 'Ned Cook,' said the King, suddenly turning towards him, 'what do you advise in this case?' Cook hesitated to answer. 'Your Majesty,' he said, 'has here your privy Councillors.' 'Ned, I command you to give me your advice.' Cook : 'Well, then, will your Majesty allow me to address you a question?' The King : 'Speak.' Cook : 'Suppose I should not only tell your Majesty, but prove to you that the army intend forthwith to seize your person ; if I add, that I have the word, horses ready at hand, a vessel attending me, hourly expecting me, that I am ready and desirous to attend you, that this dark night seems made on purpose, that I see no difficulty in the thing, what would your Majesty do?' Charles remained silent for a moment ; then, shaking his head, he said, 'No, they promised me, and I promised them ; I will not break first.' Cook : 'But, sir, I presume that by "they" and "them" your Majesty means the parliament : if so, the scene is changed ; it is the army who want to throw your Majesty into prison.' The King : 'No matter ; I will not break my word : good-night, Ned ; good-night, Lindsey ; I am going to rest as long as I can.' Cook : 'I fear it will not be long.' The King : 'As it please God.' It was one o'clock ; they withdrew, and Charles went to bed, Richmond alone remaining with him.

"At break of day there was a knocking at the door. 'Who are you? What do you want?' asked Richmond. 'Officers of the army, who want to speak with the King.' Richmond did not open the door, waiting for the King to be dressed ; the

knocks were repeated, and with violence. 'Open the door,' said Charles to the Duke; and before he was out of bed, several officers, with Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbett at their head, rushed into the room. 'Sir,' said Cobbett, 'we have orders to remove you.' The King: 'Orders from whom?' Cobbett: 'From the army.' 'Whither am I to be removed?' Cobbett: 'To the Castle.' The King: 'The Castle is no castle. I am ready to follow you to any castle, but name it.' Cobbett consulted his companions, and at last answered, 'To Hurst Castle.' The King turned towards Richmond, and said, 'They could not name a worse,' and then addressing Cobbett, he said, 'Can I have none of my servants with me?' Cobbett: 'Only those absolutely indispensable.' Charles named his two valets-de-chambre, Harrington and Herbert, and Mildmay, his esquire carver. Richmond went out to order breakfast; but, before it was ready, the horses were brought up. 'Sir,' said Cobbett, 'we must go.' The King got into the carriage without uttering a word, Harrington, Herbert and Mildmay with him; Cobbett came forward to get in, but Charles barred the way with his foot, and had the door immediately closed. They drove off under the escort of a detachment of cavalry; a little vessel was waiting at Yarmouth; the King embarked in it; and three hours later, at about noon, was shut up in Hurst Castle, having no communication from without, in a room so dark, that at midday flambeaux were necessary, and under the guard of Colonel Ewer, a far rougher and more dangerous gaoler than Cobbett had been."[1]

Sir Thomas Herbert, who accompanied His Majesty to this new prison, describes Hurst Castle as a

(1) Guizot, 403–406. Cf. Narrative of Colonel Edward Cook, given by A. Fea, pp. 248–256.

block-house " erected by Henry VIII. upon a spot of earth thrust by nature a good way into the sea, and joined to the firm land by a narrow neck of sand which is constantly covered over with loose stones and pebbles, and upon both sides the sea beats, so as at spring-tides and in stormy weather the land passage is formidable and hazardous. The Castle has very thick walls, and the platforms are regular, and both have several culverins and sakers mounted, so as if their shot do not reach such ships as pass that narrow strait which is much frequented, they threaten them ; nevertheless a dismal receptacle or place for so great a monarch, the greatest part of whose life and reign had been prosperous and full of earthly glory. . . . The Captain of this wretched place was not unsuitable. At the King's going ashore, he stood ready to receive him, with small observance. His look was stern, his hair and large beard were black and bushy ; he held a partizan in his hand, and (Switz-like) had a great basket-hilt sword by his side. Hardly could one see a man of a more grim aspect, and less robust and rude (than) was his behaviour. . . .

" His Majesty (as it may well be granted) was very slenderly accommodated at this place. The room he usually ate in was neither large nor light-some ; at noonday, in that winter season, requiring candles ; and at night he had his wax lamp set (as formerly) in a silver basin, which illuminated his bed-chamber. . . .

" The air was equally noxious, by reason of the marish grounds that were about, and the unwhole-some vapours arising from the sargassos and weeds the salt water constantly at tides and storms cast upon the shore, and by the fogs that those marine places are most subject to ; so as the dwellers there-abouts find by experience how that that air is in-

salubrious, and disposing to diseases, especially agueish distempers. Nevertheless, in this dolorous place the King was content to walk above two miles in length, but a few paces in breadth ; the Governor one time, Captain Reynolds at another, discoursing, and Mr. Harrington or Mr. Herbert, by His Majesty's order and their duty, ever attending him. That which made some amends was a fair and uninterrupted prospect a good way into the sea, a view into the Isle of Wight one way, and mainland the other, with the sight of ships of all sizes daily under sail, with which His Majesty was much delighted."[1]

(1) Sir Thomas Herbert's "Memoirs," Fea, 119–121.

CHAPTER XV.

WESTMINSTER HALL.

1648–1649.

The Commons reverse their decision on the Treaty of Newport—The army occupies Westminster—"Pride's Purge"—Major Harrison at Hurst—The King removed to Windsor—Passes through Winchester and Bagshot—Royal state withheld—Vote of the "Rump" to try the King—Attitude of Cromwell—Final overtures to the King—Creation of High Court—Opposition—Sequestration of royal palaces—The King conveyed to Whitehall—The High Court—Entrance of the King—His refusal to recognise the Court—Adjournment—The King at Cotton House—Sir Matthew Hale—Philip Henry—Intervention of the Queen, the Prince, the Scottish Commissioners, the States of Holland—The sentence—The King demands a conference—The King taken to St. James's.

Events moved very swiftly now towards the dreadful end. On November 28th, the Parliamentary Commissioners had left Newport; on the 29th, Colonel Cobbett and his troops had made themselves masters of the Isle of Wight; on the 30th, while Parliament was declining to consider the "Remonstrance" of the army, the emissaries of the army were carrying the King a prisoner to Hurst Castle; on December 2nd, Fairfax brought his troops to Westminster, distributing his men at Whitehall, York House, the Mews, and in the outskirts of the city; on December 5th, the House of Commons reversed its previous decisions upon the Treaty of Newport by passing a resolution that the King's concessions at that Treaty formed an adequate basis

of peace, a ground of settlement between the sovereign and the people. But Cromwell, Ireton, Ludlow and Hutchinson, having their victim safely secured at Hurst, were not going to allow the moment of their triumph to slip from them. On December 6th, at seven in the morning, under the direction of Ireton, and before Fairfax knew anything of the matter, troops were in motion. With Skippon's consent, the militia, who guarded Parliament, had been withdrawn, and two regiments, that of Colonel Pride, infantry, and that of Colonel Rich, cavalry, occupied Palace Yard, Westminster Hall, the stairs, vestibule, and every access to the House ; at the door of the Commons stood Pride, with the list of proscribed members in his hand, and near him Lord Grey of Groby and an usher, who pointed them out to him as they arrived. They were not allowed to enter the House. This process was repeated on successive days, until one hundred and forty-three members of the House of Commons, representing the Presbyterian and Constitutional party, were expelled, and only the faction of Independents and Republicans known as the " Rump " remained. The Republicans and the army at length found themselves, at Westminster, as well as elsewhere, in full possession of power. On the very day, when the last of the Presbyterians retired from the Commons, Cromwell, who had kept himself discreetly in the background, came and resumed his seat, " God is my witness," he repeated piously everywhere, " that I know nothing of what has been doing in this House ; but the work is in hand, I am glad of it, and now we must carry it through." The House received him with the most marked demonstrations of gratitude. The speaker addressed to him official thanks for his campaign in Scotland ; and on leaving the House, he took up

his lodgings at Whitehall, in the King's own apartments.

Meanwhile, in his prison at Hurst, the King was awakened in the middle of the night of December 17th, by the noise of the drawbridge being lowered, and of a troop of horse entering the castle-yard. Then all was silent. The King called for Herbert, and bade him find out what was the matter. He did so, and reported to His Majesty that Major Harrison was come. At this news, the King appeared to be much agitated, and said to Herbert, "Do you not know that this is the man who intended to assassinate me during the late Treaty? I would not be taken by surprise. This is a fit place for such a purpose. Go again and make further inquiry into this business." This time, Herbert discovered that Harrison had brought orders for his Majesty's removal to Windsor. When the King heard this intelligence, "Well and good," he exclaimed, his eyes brightening with joy, "what, do they at last become less obdurate? Windsor is a place I ever delighted in; it will make amends for what I have suffered here."

Two days later, on December 19th, under the guard of Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbett, the King was taken by boat from Hurst to the mainland of Hampshire. Here a body of cavalry was drawn up to escort him to Winchester. The King made the journey on horseback, passing that day through Ringwood and Romsey. At Winchester, the Mayor and aldermen, accompanied by the Cathedral dignitaries and the gentry of the county, came out to receive him, and gave him a loyal and hearty welcome. He slept that night at Winchester, where it is vouched by Dr. Nichols, Warden of the College, that an innkeeper of the town was cured of a malady by the King's blessing. The next day, the journey was

continued through Arlesford, Alton and Farnham, the people flocking out in large numbers, partly out of curiosity to see the King pass, partly to give him their loyal acclamations, and to accompany him with prayers for his preservation. So little did either the miserable remnant of a Parliament or the all-powerful army represent the heart of the people of England! At Alton, the sinister Major Harrison appeared again upon the scene, to take command of the escort, and, as Herbert relates, he was stared out of countenance by the King. The party slept on the night of December 22nd, at Farnham, the King being lodged in the house of a private gentleman. The next day, the cavalcade rode to Bagshot, where the King declared he would dine at the house of Lord Newburgh, one of his most faithful cavaliers. This nobleman possessed a fine stable, and among his horses was one reckoned to be the fleetest in England. In secret correspondence with the King, this animal had been offered to him for the purpose of escape. But when His Majesty reached Bagshot, it was discovered, to the mortification of all concerned, that the horse had been kicked so severely in its stable that it was wholly unfit for use. Other horses were offered the King; but the risk was too great; the troopers kept close to his person, with cocked pistols in their hands. The march was resumed, and on the evening of December 23rd, the King rode once more into his royal Castle of Windsor. His usual bed-chamber, towards the far end of the Castle ward, had been prepared for him. "Here the King seemed to take more delight than at any place he had been since leaving Hampton Court. Here he had the liberty to walk when and where he pleased within the Castle, and in the long terrace without, that looks towards the fair college

of Eton. . . . The greatest part of the forenoon the King spent in prayer and other exercises of piety ; part of the afternoon he set apart for health, by re-creating himself in walking, and usually in the long terrace ; the Governor here, as in other places (after the Commissioners were gone) being for the most part in his company, for want of others to discourse with. None of the nobility, nor few of the gentry, were suffered to come into the Castle to see the King, save upon the Sundays to sermons in St. George's Chapel, where the Chaplain to the Governor and Garrison preached. Colonel Whitchcott behaved himself, nevertheless, very civilly towards the King, and his observance was taken notice of by His Majesty ; as also the soldiers there, who, in their place, gave no offence, either in language or behaviour to the King, or any that served him."[1] For three weeks or more, though a captive, the King was treated with some regard due to regal pomp. He dined in public, like British sovereigns of old, seated beneath a canopy of state, with the cup presented to him on bended knee, and solemn tasting of the dish before he ate. He was trusting still to hopes of aid from Ireland, from Denmark, and from France, when the withholding of the first respect and honour made him ask in bitterness of spirit, and with a sad foreboding of the future, " Is there aught more contemptible than a despised prince ? "

On December 23rd, the same day on which the King was brought to Windsor Castle, the remnant of the Commons at Westminster voted that His Majesty should be summoned to a public trial, and they appointed a Committee to draw up articles of impeachment. But even in this miserable assembly

(1) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 127, 128.

of the "Rump," voices were raised against the measure. Some would have deposed the King; others would have been glad to see him made away with privately, so long as they were not responsible for his death. But the daring free-thinkers, the fanatics and the republicans insisted upon a solemn, public trial. Cromwell's speech on the occasion is characteristic of himself. "If any one," he said, "had moved this upon design, I should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I pray God to bless our counsels, though I am not prepared on the sudden to give my advice."[1]

At the instance of certain peers, final overtures were made to the King. "As the proposals appear to have involved changes which would have reduced the King to the position of a Doge of Venice, it is not surprising that he refused even to see Denbigh, who brought them down. This refusal determined his fate. A hostile verdict being a foregone conclusion, it had been discussed whether the sentence should be death or deposition." The King's dignified refusal to purchase his life unmasked the hypocrisy of Cromwell, who now decided for an immediate trial, and the penalty, death. Why then, it is natural to ask, the travesty of any trial?

On January 1st, 1649, at the recommendation of their committee of December 23rd, the "Rump" passed a resolution, by a vote of fifty-three members, declaring that it was high treason in the King of England to levy war against the Parliament and Kingdom of England; and this was followed by an ordinance erecting a High Court of Justice to try the question of fact, whether Charles Stuart, King of England, had or had not been guilty of the treason

[1] Guizot, 414, 415.

described in the preceding vote. One hundred and fifty commissioners were to compose this court : six peers, three high judges, eleven baronets, ten knights, six aldermen of London, all the important men of the Republican party in the army, in the Commons, in the city, except such radicals as St. John and Vane, who declared that they disapproved of the act and would take no part in it. When these two Bills were sent up to the Lords for their assent on January 2nd, the Lords, of whom only twelve were present, rejected the Bills, and then adjourned their House for a week. The Earl of Manchester, the Parliamentary general, maintained that " There is no parliament without the King ; therefore, the King cannot commit treason against the parliament." The Earl of Denbigh, who had so often represented the Parliament on the treaties with the King, declared, " It has pleased the Commons to put my name to their ordinance ; but I would be torn to pieces rather than take part in so infamous a business." The Earl of Pembroke, a timorous Parliamentarian, uttered these generous sentiments, " I do not like to meddle with affairs of life and death ; I shall neither speak against the ordinance nor consent to it."

On January 4th when the " Rump " had ascertained for itself the resolutions of the Upper House, it proceeded at once, upon Ireton's false and absolutely tyrannical principle, to vote that the opposition of the Lords should constitute no obstacle ; that the people are the source of all legitimate power ; and that " the Commons of England, being chosen and assembled in parliament by and representing the people, have the supreme authority." This singular proposition was carried, be it remembered, in a House of scarce sixty members, all that Pride

and his master, Cromwell, had permitted to remain, when they expelled their opponents. Thus, in order to take a single life, which wisdom, not to say justice, and mercy, would have spared, were the ancient constitution, laws and liberties of England broken down and trampled upon by military despotism.

On January 6th, the High Court of Justice, instituted in the name of the Commons only, and reduced to 135 members, received orders to meet without delay to arrange the preliminaries of the trial. The court met, accordingly, in private some eight times during the first half of January ; but on no occasion could it succeed in collecting more than fifty-eight members. Fairfax attended the first meeting, but no other. Algernon Sidney, son of the Earl of Leicester, warmly opposed the trial, chiefly on the ground of its alienating the people from a republic. "No one will stir," cried Cromwell, "I tell you, we will cut off his head with the crown upon it." "Do what you please," answered Sidney, "I cannot hinder you ; but I certainly will have nothing to do with this affair." And he went out, and never returned.[1]

The 20th January was appointed for the King to appear before the Court in Westminster Hall : but so early as the 17th, as if his condemnation had already been pronounced, the "Rump" had charged a Committee to visit the palaces, castles and residences

(1) The Earl of Leicester records in his Journal : "My two sons, Philip and Algernon, came unexpectedly to Penshurst, Monday, 22nd January, and stayed there till Monday, 29th January, so as neither of them was at the condemnation of the King, nor was Philip at any time at the High Court, though a Commissioner, but Algernon was there sometimes, in the Painted Chamber, but never in Westminster Hall." In a letter addressed to his father after the Restoration, Algernon Sidney reminds him that he took no part in the King's trial, and that he actually told Cromwell and Bradshaw that "the King could be tried by no Court."

"Sacharissa," by Julia Cartright (Mrs. Henry Ady), p. 114.

of the King, and to draw up an exact inventory of his furniture, henceforth the property of the nation.

Having completed the arrangements for their Court of Justice, the judges desired the presence of their prisoner. Accordingly, Colonel Whitchcott, Governor of Windsor, told the King that in a few days he would be transferred to London. "God is everywhere," answered the King, "alike in wisdom, power and goodness." Although His Majesty had had some intelligence of the progress of events at Westminster, yet this announcement of a public trial startled him. He had become familiar with the thought of assassination, but he had not imagined that his enemies would dare to try him and condemn him with the forms of a court of law. "So that immediately," says Herbert, "he retired into his bed-chamber, and was a good while private in his addresses to God, ever having recourse to Him by prayer and meditation, in what condition so ever he was, as being the surest way to find comfort."

On Friday, January 19th, a troop of horse appeared at Windsor with Harrison at its head, appointed to remove the King; a coach and six waited in the courtyard of the Castle; and as the King was passing to enter it, he was met by the Duke of Hamilton, who also had been imprisoned in the Castle, but who had prevailed upon his gaolers to let him see his King once more. The Duke flung himself upon his knees before the King, crying out "My dear, dear master," These were the only words he could utter. "I have indeed been a *dear* master to you," replied the King with pathetic emphasis, while he embraced the Duke for the last time.

The King then entered the coach, and was driven, surrounded by troopers with loaded pistols, through Brentford and Hammersmith, to St. James's Palace.

"An eye-witness describes how going from London towards Windsor he met a great troop of horse with Hugh Peters riding singly immediately in front of the coach-horses. The King sat alone in the vehicle. 'I did put off my hat,' he says, 'and he [the King] was graciously pleased to put off his hat. The troopers seeing this threw me into the ditch, horse and all, where I stayed till they passed by, and was glad I escaped so.'"[1] On the same evening (January 19th) that His Majesty reached the Palace, he was carried by sedan through the Park to Whitehall, where he slept in his usual bed-chamber overlooking the Thames. A guard of musqueteers was set and sentinels stood at the door of his chamber. Thenceforth, Herbert, the only attendant allowed to wait upon the King, brought his pallet, by His Majesty's command, into the royal bed-chamber, to be nearer the person of his master. The next day, Saturday, January 20th, the King was removed in a sedan from Whitehall to Sir Robert Cotton's house, near the south end of Westminster Hall. Guards lined the street, and none of the King's friends were suffered to accompany him, except the faithful Herbert, who walked bare-headed by his side. At Cotton House, His Majesty was obliged to wait until the Court should be ready for him in Westminster Hall. Meanwhile, towards noon, the members of the High Court, assembled in the Painted Chamber. They had scarcely settled the last details for their proceedings, when it was announced that the King was at hand. Cromwell ran to the window, and turning round, pale yet very animated, cried, "My masters, he is come—he is come! and now we are doing that great work that the whole nation will be full of; therefore,

(1) Fea, 43.

I desire you to let us resolve here what answer we shall give the King, when he comes before us, for the first question he will ask us will be, by what authority and commission we do try him." No one answered for a while ; at last Henry Martyn said, " In the name of the Commons and Parliament assembled, and of all the good people of England." The regicides then proceeded in solemn order, with the sword and mace carried before them, to Westminster Hall. The president of the Court, John Bradshaw, took his seat in a chair of crimson velvet. The sword and mace were laid before him on a table covered with a Turkey carpet, at which sat the clerks. On each side of the president, and behind him, on benches covered with scarlet, were seated his fellows, all wearing their high-crowned, broad-brimmed Puritan hats. Bradshaw, fearing a Royalist attack, had taken the precaution to have his hat lined with iron. Cromwell and Martyn modestly took their places in the last row behind the president. When the Court was seated, the great doors of the hall were thrown open ; the crowd rushed in and soon filled all the galleries and the space on both sides, which was not kept clear by the large body of troops with their partisans. Silence was restored. The act of the " Rump," which constituted this Court, was read. The names of the members were called over. Out of the 135 appointed, only sixty-nine were present, none of them peers. When the name of Fairfax was called, a female voice from the gallery cried, " He has more wit than to be here." " Mr. Sergeant," said Bradshaw, " bring in the prisoner."

As the King passed through the crowds outside Westminster Hall, the people pressed as near to his person as possible, crying, " God bless your Majesty!" The soldiers beat them back, and some of the men in

From a photograph by F. Frith & Co., Ltd., Reigate.

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Colonel Axtell's regiment raised the cry of "Justice, justice!" The King was conducted under the guard of Colonel Hacker and thirty-two officers. His Majesty was received at the door by the serjeant-at-arms, and conducted to a chair of crimson velvet prepared for him at the bar. The spot is marked now by a brass with an inscription let into the pavement of the Hall. The King advanced with a firm step, erect carriage and unmoved countenance. He cast a long, severe and searching look on the tribunal. Without removing his hat, he seated himself with his usual majesty of demeanour. Soon afterwards, he rose, looked around him at the armed force on his left and the spectators on his right, once more turned his eyes towards the judges and surveyed the Court with an air of superiority, which abashed and irritated his enemies. Then he sat down again amidst universal silence. It was observed by those present that His Majesty's hair and his beard, which he wore full, were streaked with grey, that save for the blue ribbon of the Garter around his neck, with its pendant George, and the Star of the Garter on the left breast of his cloak, his dress was of a sombre hue. Overhead, from the rafters of the Hall were floating tattered banners torn from the hands of Cavaliers on the stricken fields of Marston Moor and Naseby. Well had it been for King Charles, could he have led but one last charge and perished with his devoted followers in the midst of the battle. Now, he was alone, a prisoner in the hands of his mortal enemies, confronted by men who had determined already to have his blood.

Bradshaw rose immediately. "Charles Stuart, King of England," said he, "the Commons of England, assembled in parliament, taking notice of the effusion of blood in the land, which is fixed on you

as the author of it, and whereof you are guilty, have resolved to bring you to a trial and judgment, and for this cause the tribunal is erected. The charges will now be read by the solicitor-general." When this functionary stood up to read the indictment, the King said, "Silence!" and touched him with his cane on his shoulder. The silver head of the King's cane fell off. The King himself stooped and picked it up. But the incident was taken by him and by others as ominous of his fate. The solicitor "read the act of accusation which, imputing to the King all the evils arising, first from his tyranny, then from the war, demanded that he should be bound to answer the charges brought against him, and that justice should be done upon him as a tyrant, traitor and murderer."[1] The King appeared to listen with indifference, looking tranquilly sometimes at his judges, sometimes at the spectators, while every pause in the proceedings was marked by cries of "God save your Majesty! God save the King!" until force was used by the officers to silence them. A smile of contempt was seen to quiver on the King's lips at the passage which described him as a "tyrant, traitor and murderer." At the conclusion of the reading Bradshaw called upon the King to answer; but His Majesty demanded by what authority he had been brought thither. "He was King of England; he acknowledged no superior upon earth. . . . His case, moreover, was the case of all the people of England: for if force without law could alter the fundamental laws of the kingdom, there was no man who could be secure of his life or liberty for an hour. He was told that the Court sat by the authority of the House of Commons. But where, he asked, were the Lords? Were the Commons the whole

(1) Guizot, 419, 420.

legislature? Were they free? Were they a court of judicature? Could they confer on others a jurisdiction which they did not possess themselves? He would never acknowledge an usurped authority. It was a duty imposed upon him by the Almighty to disown every lawless power, that invaded either the rights of the crown or the liberties of the subject."[1] A dialogue of argument took place between the royal prisoner and Bradshaw, on the point of whether the monarchy of England was elective or not? and when the man of law was worsted in the dispute, he hastily adjourned the Court until Monday.

As the King rose to leave the Hall, he looked at the sword placed upon the table. "I do not fear that," he said, pointing to it with his cane. He was taken back to Cotton House amidst the irrepressible cries of "God bless your Majesty! God save you from your enemies!" Such was the only part that the people of England took in the trial.

The King remained at Cotton House over Sunday, January 21st, when, as Herbert records, "Dr. Juxon, that good Bishop of London, had (as His Majesty desired) the liberty to attend the King, which was much to his comfort, and (as he said) no small refreshing to his spirit, especially in that his uncomfortable condition. The most part of the day was spent in prayer and preaching to the King."[2]

On Monday, the 22nd, Colonel Hacker brought the King a second time to the Court in Westminster Hall, sixty-two members only being present. "As soon as His Majesty came into Westminster Hall some soldiers made a hideous cry of 'justice, justice!' some of the officers joining with them. At which noise the King seemed somewhat abashed, but

(1) Lingard, x. 259.
(2) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 133, 134.

overcame it with patience."[1] But others raised cries of acclamation, in spite of the order of the Court that silence should be observed, under pain of imprisonment. The discussion of the previous Saturday was renewed on both sides with equal pertinacity. Bradshaw demanded of the King that he should plead guilty or not guilty. The King, on his side, refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court. A second time Bradshaw was baffled, and called upon the serjeant to take away the prisoner. But "the King turned suddenly round to the people and said, 'Remember that the King of England suffers, being not permitted to give his reasons for the liberty of his people!' and an almost general cry arose 'God save the King!'"[2]

"As His Majesty returned from the Hall to Cotton House, a soldier that was upon the guard, said aloud, 'God bless you, sir!' The King thanked him; but an uncivil officer struck him with his cane upon the head; which His Majesty observing said, the punishment exceeded the offence. Being come to his apartment in Cotton House, he immediately upon his knees went to prayer. Afterwards, he asked Mr. Herbert if he heard the cry of the soldiers in Westminster Hall for justice? Who answered, he did, and marvelled thereat. 'So did not I,' said the King, 'for I am well assured the soldiers bear no malice towards me: the cry was, no doubt, given by their officers, for whom the soldier would do the like, were there occasion.'"[3]

The great lawyer, Sir Matthew Hale, "was employed in his practice," says Bishop Burnet,[4] "by all the King's party: he was assigned to the Earl

(1) Ibid.
(2) Guizot, 421, 422.
(3) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 133–4
(4) Burnet, "Lives," 93.

of Strafford and Archbishop Laud, and afterwards, to the blessed King himself, when brought to the infamous pageantry of a mock trial ; and offered to plead for him, with all the courage that so glorious a cause ought to have inspired him with ; but was not suffered to appear, the King refusing, as he had good reason, to submit to the Court, it was pretended none could be admitted to speak for him."

"Tuesday, the 23rd of January, the King was the third time summoned, and, as formerly, guarded to the court ; where (as at other times) he persisted in his judgment, that they had no legal jurisdiction or authority to proceed after that manner against him." [1] The sympathy of the people for the King became daily more earnest, "God save the King!" echoed on all sides. It was heard even among the troops. Each day brought an alarming desertion from the ranks of those who were supposed staunch to their bloody task. Twelve members of the Court on the first day had refused to vote or assist in bringing the trial to a conclusion.

The passage between Cotton House and Westminster Hall was made on more than one occasion by water, when the royal bargemen insisted upon rowing the King bareheaded. Mr. John Henry, the father of Philip Henry, had held a place at Court and was still occupying his house in the precincts of Whitehall. "The King passing by his door, under a guard, to take water, when he was going to Westminster, to that which they called his trial, enquired for his old servant, Mr. John Henry, who was ready to pay his due respects to him, and prayed God 'to bless His Majesty, and to deliver him out of the hands of his enemies' ; for which the guard had like to have been rough upon him."[2]

(1) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 134.
(2) Philip Henry, Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biography," vi., 123.

The friends of the King abroad had followed very closely the course of events in England. On January 3rd, the French Ambassador had delivered to the Commons a letter from the Queen of England, soliciting permission to come and join her husband, either to persuade him to yield to their demands, or to give him the consolations of affection. The Prince of Wales had written to Fairfax and to the council of officers in the hope of exciting in their breasts some feeling of loyalty. With these letters, the Prince sent a blank sheet with his signature attached, begging those in power in England to insert the conditions they might require for saving his father's life. On two several days, January 6th and 20th, the Scottish Commissioners officially protested, in the name of their kingdom, against all that was taking place at Westminster. An extraordinary embassy from the States of Holland arrived in London to intercede for the life of the King. The French Ambassador offered the intervention of his Court, though France at that time was disturbed by the war with the Fronde. All in vain. The regicides hurried on their way. For the next three days, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, January 24th, 25th and 26th, they sat in private, to collect evidence against the King. At the close of the sitting, on the 25th, they voted the condemnation of the King as a tyrant, traitor, murderer and enemy to the country. Seven of their number, among whom were Harrison and Ireton, were appointed to draw up the sentence. There were only forty-six members present on that day. On the 26th, the sixty-two members present determined upon the form of the sentence.

"On the 27th day of January, the president came to the Hall in his scarlet gown. The King had quick notice the court was set; and being called, he forth-

with went ; and observing him in his red gown, by that sign he imagined it would be the last day of their sitting,"[1] and therefore asked to address the Court. Bradshaw insisted that the King must first hear the Court. The King then sat down, and Bradshaw proceeded with his speech. But when he attributed the charge against the King to the consentient voice of the people of England, the Lady Fairfax from the gallery over the Court cried out, "Not half the people ! It is false ! Where are they, or their consents ? Oliver Cromwell is a traitor ! " A faint murmur of approbation followed, but was suppressed instantly by the military. Bradshaw resumed his charge. When he had finished, the King earnestly pressed the Court, that, although he could not acknowledge their jurisdiction, for those reasons he had given, nevertheless desired that he might have a conference in the Painted Chamber with a Committee of Lords and Commons, before the Court proceeded any further.

Deep agitation pervaded the Court and the assembly. Bradshaw maintained that the King's request was only a trick to escape the jurisdiction of the Court. The King insisted only the more urgently upon being heard. The soldiers became more noisy and abusive. Some lit their pipes and blew the smoke towards the King. Some murmured at the slowness of the trial. Axtell laughed and joked aloud. Cries of "Justice ! Execution ! " met the King's appeals to be heard. At length, Colonel Downes, one of the members of the Court, became violently agitated and sought to rise. In vain did his colleagues attempt to hold him in his seat. He rose and cried out, "Have we hearts of stone ? Are we men ? " "You will ruin us," said his neighbour. "No matter,"

(1) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 135.

replied Downes, "if I die for it, I must do it." "Colonel," said Cromwell, who sat just beneath him, "are you yourself? What mean you? Can't you be quiet?" "No," answered Downes, "I cannot, and I will not sit still." Then rising, he declared that his conscience would not permit him to refuse the King's request. "I move that we adjourn to deliberate." "Whereupon the president arose, and the Court withdrew; in which interval the King likewise retired to Cotton House, where he and Dr. Juxon were private for about an hour, and then Colonel Hunks gave notice that the court was set."[1]

"The King being seated in his chair, the president told His Majesty, that his motion for a conference with a Committee of Lords and Commons had been taken into consideration, but would not be granted by the court, in regard he would not own their jurisdiction, nor acknowledge them for a lawful assembly. Whereupon the King with vehemency insisted that his reasonable request might be granted; that what he had to offer to a Committe of either House might be considered before they proceeded to sentence."[2] This request was refused, and Bradshaw, in pronouncing the judgment, delivered a long harangue to the King, who "was observed to smile, and lift up his eyes to heaven; as appealing to the Divine Majesty, the most supreme judge."[3] Bradshaw gave orders to the clerk to read the sentence, "that Charles Stuart should be put to death by severing his head from his body." The Commissioners rose in a body to testify their assent; the King made a last and more earnest effort to speak; but Bradshaw ordered him to be removed, and the guards hurried him out of the Hall.

(1) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 135.
(2) Ibid. (3) Ibid, 136.

"It is confessed," says Hume,[1] "that the King's behaviour during this last scene of his life does honour to his memory, and that in all appearances before his judges he never forgot his part either as a prince or as a man. Firm and intrepid, he maintained in each reply the utmost perspicuity and justness both of thought and expression; mild and equable, he rose into no passion at that unusual authority which was assumed over him. His soul, without effort or affectation, seemed only to remain in the situation familiar to it, and to look down with contempt on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity."

So ended this iniquitous trial, which, for its mockery of justice and for its cruelty, may be compared not inappropriately with that over which Pontius Pilate presided. And the comparison is borne further by the insults heaped upon the innocent victim. As the King was taken down the stairs, the troopers blew the smoke of their pipes in his face, their hooting sounded in his ears, and one of his judges, Augustin Garland, it is said, spat upon him. But as His Majesty approached his sedan chair, the bearers uncovered, and remained so, as they carried him back, through crowds of reverent and sympathetic spectators, to the house of Sir Robert Cotton. Almost immediately, the King was taken thence to the Palace of Whitehall, "in a close chair through King Street, both sides whereof had a guard of foot-soldiers, who were silent as His Majesty passed. But shop-stalls and windows were full of people, many of which shed tears, and some of them with audible voices prayed for the King, who, through the privy garden, was carried to his bed-chamber; whence after two hours' space, he was removed to St. James's. Nothing of fear of death, or indignities offered, seemed a terror,

(1) "History of England," vol. v., p. 289.

or provoked him to impatience, nor uttered he a reproachful word reflecting upon any of his judges, albeit he well knew that some of them were, or had been, his domestic servants, nor against any member of the House, or officer of the army ; so wonderful was his patience, though his spirit was great, and might otherwise have expressed his resentment upon several occasions. It was a true Christian fortitude to have the mastery of his passion, and submission to the will of God under such temptations."[1]

(1) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 136.

CHAPTER XVI.

WHITEHALL.

1649.

Action of the King's friends—The King prepares for death—Message from the Prince of Wales—Last interview with the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester—The regicides sign the warrant—Efforts of the Dutch ambassadors—The last hours of the King—Ministrations of Bishop Juxon—The walk from St. James's to Whitehall—The last Sacrament—The scaffold—The King's speech—His last words—His death—Eye-witnesses.

After the sentence of the singular Court had been delivered, and it was known that scarce three days were allowed the King before the execution, four of his friends, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hertford, and the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, applied to the "Rump," sitting at Westminster. "They represented that they were the King's counsellors, and had concurred by their advice in all those measures which were now imputed to their royal master; that, in the eyes of the law, and according to the dictates of common reason, they alone were guilty, and were alone exposed to censure for every blameable action of the prince; and that they now presented themselves, in order to save by their own punishment that precious life which it became the Commons themselves, and every subject, with the utmost hazard, to protect and

defend. Such a generous effort tended to their honour, but contributed nothing to the King's safety."[1]

During the interval before the execution, the King was lodged at St. James's. Upon arriving at the Palace on Saturday, January 27th, he had said to Herbert, "I know that my nephew, the Prince Elector, will endeavour it, and some other lords that love me, which I would take in good part, but my time is short and precious, and I am desirous to improve it the best I may in preparation; I hope they will not take it ill, that none have access unto me but my children. The best office they can do now, is to pray for me."[2] As the King had foreseen, his nephew and the four faithful nobles did come to his chamber door, and presented their humble duty to His Majesty. But the King received no one but Bishop Juxon, who was with him continually as his chaplain and confessor. On Sunday, the 28th, "when the Bishop saw the King, he burst into an agony of grief. 'Leave off this, my lord,' said Charles, 'we have not time for it; let us think of our great work, and prepare to meet that great God, to Whom, ere long, I am to give an account of myself. I hope I shall do it with peace, and that you will assist me therein. We will not talk of these rogues, in whose hands I am; they thirst after my blood, and they will have it, and God's will be done! I thank God, I heartily forgive them; and I will talk of them no more.'"[3]

It was with great difficulty that the King obtained permission to be left alone in his room, where, at first, Colonel Hacker had posted two soldiers; and, as it was, while Juxon was with him, the door was

(1) Hume, v., 290.
(2) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 136.
(3) Guizot, 428.

opened every few minutes by the sentinel on duty, to make sure the King was there. Not a few of the Protestant preachers came to St. James's desiring to pray with His Majesty ; but the King declined their offers with thanks, dismissing them with a friendly answer. On Sunday evening, there came Mr. Henry Seymour, gentleman of the bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales, bringing a letter from the Prince to the King. His Majesty received him, read the letter, heard what Seymour had to say, gave his answer, and dismissed him. Then "the King went to his devotion, Dr. Juxon praying with him, and reading some select chapters out of sacred Scripture."[1] On this same Sunday, "a final proposal was made to the King upon such dishonourable terms that he indignantly cast the paper from him exclaiming, 'I will rather become a Sacrifice for my people than endorse this intolerable bondage of an armed faction!'"[2]

On Monday, the 29th, almost at dawn of day, the Bishop returned to St. James's. Morning prayer over, the King produced a box, broke the seals, and showed the Bishop and Herbert "what was contained in it ; there were diamonds and jewels, most part broken Georges and Garters." "You see," said the King, "all the wealth now in my power to give my two children."[3] The royal children, the Princess Elizabeth, who was twelve years old, and Henry, Duke of Gloucester, who was only eight, were then brought to their father from Syon House. "The Princess, being the elder, was the most sensible of her royal father's condition, as appeared by her sorrowful look and excessive weeping ; and her little brother, seeing his sister weep, he took

(1) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 138.
(2) Walker's "History of Independency," ii., 109, Fea, 44.
(3) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 139.

the like impression, though by reason of his tender age, he could not have the like apprehension. The King raised them both from off their knees ; he kissed them, gave them his blessing, and setting them on his knees, admonished them concerning their duty and loyal observance to the Queen, their mother, the Prince that was his successor, love to the Duke of York, and his other relations." [1] The young Princess herself wrote down this narrative of the parting interview : "What the King said to me 29th of January, last, being the last time I had the happiness to see him." [2] "He told me that he was glad I was come, for, though he had not time to say much, yet, somewhat he wished to say to me, which he could not to another, and he had feared 'the cruelty' was too great to permit his writing. 'But sweetheart,' he added, 'thou wilt forget what I tell thee.' Then, shedding abundance of tears, I told him that I would write down all he said to me. He wished me, he said, not grieve and torment myself for him, for it was a glorious death he should die, it being for the laws and religion of the land. He told me what books to read against popery—Bishop Andrewes' Sermons, Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' and Bishop Laud's Book against Fisher. He said that he had forgiven all his enemies, and he hoped God would forgive them also ; and he commanded us, and all the rest of my brothers and sisters to forgive them also. Above all, he bade me tell my mother that his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his love for her would be the same to the last ; withal, he commanded me and my brother to love her, and be obedient to her. He desired me not to grieve for him, for he should die a martyr ;

(1) Ibid, 139, 140.
(1) *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, Strickland, viii., 126.

and that he doubted not but God would restore the throne to his son ; and that then we should be all happier than we could possibly have been, if he had lived. Then, taking my brother Gloucester on his knee, he said, ' Sweetheart, now they will cut off thy father's head.' Upon which the child looked very steadfastly upon him. ' Heed, my child, what I say ; they will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a king ; but, mark what I say : you must not be a king as long as your brothers Charles and James live ; therefore, I charge you, do not be made a king by them.' At which the child, sighing deeply, replied, ' I will be torn in pieces first.' And these words coming so unexpectedly from so young a child, rejoiced my father exceedingly. And His Majesty spoke to him of the welfare of his soul, and to keep his religion, commanding him to fear God, and He would provide for him. All which the young child earnestly promised."

" The King then gave them all his jewels, save the George he wore, which was cut in an onyx with great curiosity, and set about with twenty-one fair diamonds, and the reverse set with the like number ; and, again kissing his children, had such pretty and pertinent answers from them both, as drew tears of joy and love from his eyes ; and then praying God Almighty them bless, he turned about, expressing a tender and fatherly affection. Most sorrowful was this parting, the young Princess shedding tears and crying lamentably, so as moved others to pity, that formerly were hard-hearted ; and at opening the chamber door, the King returned hastily from the window, and kissed them and blessed ; so parted.

" This demonstration of a pious affection exceedingly comforted the King in this his affliction ; so that in a grateful return he went immediately to

prayer, the good Bishop and Mr. Herbert being only present. . . . The Bishop of London, after prayers, preached before the King, his text was the second chapter of Romans, and sixteenth verse ; the words are, ' At that day, when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ,' etc.

" That day the King eat and drank very sparingly, most part of the day being spent in prayer and meditation ; it was some hours after mid-night ere Dr. Juxon took leave of the King, who willed him to be early with him the next morning."[1]

While these affecting and pious scenes were enacting at St. James's Palace, the members of the " High Court " were engaged in very different transactions at Whitehall. They had appointed the next day, Tuesday, January 30th, for the execution, between the hours of ten and five o'clock, and the place, before the new banqueting house of the King's own Palace of Whitehall. But when it became necessary to sign the fatal order, it was with great difficulty that the commissioners could be got together. As, not long before, they had excluded all Royalists from the House of Commons, so now were they constrained to force the most rabid Republicans to enter the chamber and to sign the warrant. Cromwell, gay, noisy and daring, gave way to his usual coarse buffoonery. Having signed the warrant—he was the third to do so—he smeared with ink the face of Henry Martyn, who sat by him, and who immediately did the same by him. At last, fifty-nine signatures were secured, many of them, from agitation or design, so illegible that it was almost impossible to make them out. The order was addressed to three officers, Colonels Hacker and Hunks, and Lieutenant Phayre, who were charged to see to the execution.

(1) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 140-142.

The ambassadors extraordinary of the States of Holland, who had been despatched by the importunity of the Prince of Wales, to intercede for his father, and who had been already for five days in London without being able to obtain a hearing, were informed on Monday, the 29th, that they would be received by the Lords at two o'clock, by the Commons at three. They went immediately, and delivered their message : an answer was promised them ; but as they returned to their lodgings they saw preparations for the execution beginning in front of Whitehall.

They had received visits from the French and Spanish ambassadors, but neither would join in their intervention. The first said that he had for a long time foreseen this deplorable event, and had done all in his power to prevent it. The other said he had not yet received orders from his Court to interfere in the matter, though every hour he expected them.

The next day, the 30th, at noon the ambassadors had an interview with Fairfax, who promised to go to Westminster and at least solicit a reprieve. But, as they left him, they met a body of cavalry clearing the way ; all the avenues to Whitehall and the adjacent streets were filled with them ; and on all sides they heard it said that everything was ready, and that the King would soon arrive.

Early in the morning of the 30th, the regicides had assembled at Whitehall to sign the order to the executioner. " Colonel," said Cromwell to Hunks, " it is you who must write and sign it." Hunks obstinately refused. " What a stubborn grumbler ! " said Cromwell. " Colonel Hunks," said Axtell, " I am ashamed of you, the ship is now coming into the harbour, and will you strike sail before we come to anchor ? " Hunks persisted in his refusal.

Cromwell, muttering between his teeth, sat down, wrote the order himself, and presented it to Colonel Hacker, who signed it without objection.

Turn we now, in the words of the faithful Herbert, to the story of the Martyr on this his triumph day. "After the Bishop was gone to his lodging, the King continued reading and praying more than two hours [the night of Jan. 29]. The King commanded Mr. Herbert to lie by his bedside upon a pallet, where he took small rest, that being the last night his Gracious Sovereign and Master enjoyed; but nevertheless, the King for four hours, or thereabouts, slept soundly, and awaking about two hours before day, he opened his curtain to call Mr. Herbert; there being a great cake of wax set in a silver basin, that then, as at all other times, burned all night, so that he perceived him somewhat disturbed in sleep; but, calling him, bade him rise: 'For,' said His Majesty, 'I will get up, having a great work to do this day.' However, he would know why he was so troubled in his sleep. He replied, 'May it please your Majesty, I was dreaming.' 'I would know your dream,' said the King; which being told, His Majesty said, 'It was remarkable. Herbert, this is my second marriage day; I would be as trim to-day as may be; for before night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus.' He then appointed what clothes he would wear. 'Let me have a shirt on more than ordinary,' said the King, 'by reason the season is so sharp as probably may make me shake, which some observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not Death! Death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared. Death indeed only sets man free from the misery of this world, and breaks asunder the chains of bondage.'

"These, or words to this effect, His Majesty spoke to Mr. Herbert, as he was making ready. Soon after came Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, precisely at the time His Majesty the night before had appointed him."[1] The King then entrusted to Herbert various gifts and commissions to be delivered to the royal children and to his friends, as opportunity might serve.

"His Majesty then bade him withdraw; for he was about an hour in private with the Bishop; and being called in, the Bishop went to prayer, and reading also the 27th Chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, which relates the passion of our Blessed Saviour. The King, after the service was done, asked the Bishop if he had made choice of that chapter, being so applicable to his present condition. The Bishop replied, 'May it please your gracious Majesty, it is the proper lesson for the day, as appears by the calendar'; which the King was much affected with, so aptly serving as a seasonable preparation for his death that day.

"So as His Majesty, abandoning all thoughts of earthly concerns, continued in prayer, and meditation, and concluded with a cheerful submission to the will and pleasure of the Almighty, and saying he was ready to resign himself into the hands of Christ Jesus, and with the Kingly prophet, as is expressed in the 31st Psalm, and the 8th verse, 'Into Thy hands,' etc.

"Colonel Hacker then knocked easily at the King's door. Mr. Herbert being within would not stir to ask who it was; but knocking the second time a little louder, the King bid him go to the door. He guessed his business. So Mr. Herbert demanding wherefore he knocked, the Colonel said he would

(1) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 142, 143.

speak with the King. The King said, 'Let him come in.' The Colonel in trembling manner came near, and told His Majesty it was time to go to Whitehall, where he might have some further time to rest. The King bade him go forth, he would come presently. Some time His Majesty was in private, and afterwards taking the good Bishop by the hand, looking upon him with a cheerful countenance, he said, 'Come, let us go'; and bidding Mr. Herbert take with him the silver clock that hung by his bed-side, said, 'Open the door, Hacker has given us a second warning.' Through the garden, the King passed into the park, where, making a stand, he asked Mr. Herbert the hour of the day; and taking the clock into his hand, gave it him, and bade him keep it in memory of him; which Mr. Herbert keeps accordingly. [It was 10 o'clock.]

"The park had several companies of foot drawn up, who made a guard on either side as the King passed, and a guard of halberdiers in company went, some before, and other some followed; the drums beat, and the noise was so great as one could hardly hear what another spoke.

"Upon the King's right hand went the Bishop, and Colonel Tomlinson on his left, with whom His Majesty had some discourse by the way. Mr. Herbert was next the King; after him the guards. In this manner went the King through the park."[1]

The King pointed out a tree which had been planted nearly forty years before by his brother, Prince Henry. He spoke to Tomlinson "of his funeral, of the persons, to whom he wished the care of it entrusted, his countenance serene, his eye beaming, his step firm, walking rapidly as he was wont, even faster than the troops, and blaming their

(1) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 144, 145.

slowness. One of the officers on service, doubtless thinking to agitate him, asked him whether he had not concurred with the late Duke of Buckingham in the death of the King, his father. 'Friend,' answered Charles, with gentle contempt, 'if I had no other sin, I speak it with reverence to God's majesty, I assure thee I should never ask Him pardon.'"[1]

"In his passage, a sorry fellow (seemingly some mean citizen) went abreast along with him, and, in an affront, often stared His Majesty in the face, which caused him to turn it another way. The Bishop of London, though not easily angered, was much offended thereat, as done out of despiteful design, to discompose him before his death, and moved the captain of the guard he might be taken away; which was done accordingly."[2]

Arriving at the flight of steps leading from the park across the street to the Long Gallery of Whitehall, the King passed along the galleries unto his bed-chamber, where the Bishop prepared to celebrate the Holy Communion. Some Independent ministers came at this moment, knocked at the door, and said they wished to offer their services to the King. "The King is at prayers," said Juxon. They still insisted. "Well, then," said Charles to the Bishop, "thank them for me for the tender of themselves, but tell them plainly that they that so often causelessly prayed *against* me, shall not pray *with* me in this agony. They may, if they please, I'll thank them for it, pray *for* me." They retired. The Bishop celebrated the Holy Communion. The King knelt, received the Sacrament from the hands of the Bishop. Then rising with cheerfulness, "Now," said he, "let the rogues come. I have heartily forgiven

(1) Guizot, 433.
(2) Fuller, iii., 501.

them, and am prepared for all I am to undergo." Dinner had been prepared. The King declined taking any. "Sire," said Juxon, "Your Majesty has long been fasting ; it is cold ; perhaps on the scaffold some faintness—." "You are right," said the King, and he bade Herbert bring him some bread and wine, which being brought, the King broke the manchet, and eat a mouthful of it, and drank a small glassful of claret wine, and then was sometime in private with the Bishop, expecting when Hacker would the third and last time give warning.

"Meantime His Majesty told Mr. Herbert what satin night-cap he would use, which being provided, and the King at private prayer, Mr. Herbert addressed himself to the Bishop, and told him the King had ordered him to have a white satin night-cap ready, but was not able to endure the sight of that violence they upon the scaffold would offer the King. The good Bishop then bid him give him the cap, and wait at the end of the banqueting house, near the scaffold, to take care of the King's body ; 'For,' said he, 'that, and his interment, will be our last office.'

"Colonel Hacker came soon after to the bed-chamber door, and gave his last signal. The Bishop and Mr. Herbert, weeping, fell upon their knees, and the King gave them his hand to kiss, and helped the Bishop up, for he was aged.

"Colonel Hacker attending still at the chamber door, the King took notice of it, and said, 'Open the door,' and bade Hacker go, he would follow. A guard was made all along the galleries and the banqueting house ; but behind the soldiers abundance of men and women crowded in, though with some peril to their persons, to behold the saddest sight England ever saw. And as His Majesty passed by, with a cheerful look, heard them pray for him, the

soldiers not rebuking any of them ; by their silence and dejected faces seeming afflicted rather than insulting." [1]

The hour was two o'clock of the afternoon. " His Majesty passed to the scaffold through the wall that was purposely broken down at the north end of the room."[2] This was not through one of the seven great windows of the banqueting hall, but through a smaller window upon the same level, which belonged to a small building or temporary annexe, abutting upon the end of the hall nearest Charing Cross, over the staircase, which admitted the congregation when the banqueting house was used as a Chapel-royal. To make a passage upon the scaffold, the window frame was removed, and the masonry below was broken away. The scaffold presumably extended from this window in the northern extremity of the building as it then existed, to about the middle of the present banqueting hall, and there is a tradition to the effect that the block was stationed near the second window (from Charing Cross). The scaffold was hung with black. Two men, dressed as sailors, masked, and disguised with false beards, stood by the axe. There has been much disagreement as to who acted as the King's executioner : Cornet Joyce, the tailor's apprentice, who abducted the King from Holdenby ; Sergeant Hulet ; Richard Brandon, the common hangman ; Ralph Jones, a rag-man. There seems, however, to be little doubt that the horrible office was performed by Brandon, assisted by Jones. In case of the King's personal resistance, staples had been driven into the floor to fasten him down to the scaffold. There was no need of any such precaution. The King stepped

(1) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 146.
(2) Dugdale MS., Fea, 45 and 146.

out through the window with his usual calm and noble bearing. He "stood collected and undismayed amidst the apparatus of death. There was in his countenance that cheerful intrepidity, in his demeanour that dignified calmness, which had characterized in the hall of Fotheringhay, his royal grandmother, Mary Stuart."[1]

In the words of the Puritan Andrew Marvell :

"That thence the royal actor borne
The tragic scaffold might adorn,
While round the armed bands
Did clap their bloody hands.
He nothing common did, nor mean,
Upon that memorable scene ;
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try ;
Nor called the gods with vulgar spite
To vindicate his helpless right,
But bowed his comely head
Down, as upon a bed."

He looked around for the people, to address them ; but the whole space in front of the Palace was occupied by troops, so that, while great crowds of people pressed behind the soldiers, filled all windows within sight of the scaffold, and even covered the roofs of the houses for a good distance, none were near enough to hear the words of the King. Upon the scaffold, besides the executioner and his assistant, there stood only the soldiers of the guard, the Bishop of London, and the King himself. Colonel Tomlinson remained in the embrasure of the window ; poor Herbert, as he desired, inside, as he says, "lamenting."

(1) Lingard, x., 265, 266.

"His Majesty held in his hand a small piece of paper, some four inches square, containing heads, whereon in his speech he intended to dilate; and a tall soldier looking over the King's shoulders read it, as the King held it in his hand. . . . His speech ended, he gave that small paper to the Bishop of London."[1]

The speech of the King was addressed to the few persons standing about him. He took the opportunity, he said, of denying, in the presence of God, the crimes of which he had been accused. It was not to him, but to the Houses of Parliament that the war and all its evils should be charged. The Parliament had first invaded the rights of the Crown by claiming the command of the army and had provoked hostilities by issuing commissions for the levy of forces, before he had raised a single man. Though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker; and observed that an unjust sentence, which he had suffered to take effect, was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself. He had forgiven all, even those whoever they were (for he did not desire to know their names) who had brought him to his death. He did more than forgive them, he prayed that they might repent. But for that purpose they must do three things; they must render to God His due by settling the Church according to the Scripture; they must restore to the Crown those rights which belonged to it by law; and they must teach the people the distinction between the sovereign and the subject; those persons could not be governors who were to be governed; they could not rule, whose duty it was to obey. Then in allusion to the offers formerly made to him by the army, he concluded

(1) Fuller, iii., 501.

with these words : " Sirs, it was for the liberties of the people that I am come here. If I would have assented to an arbitrary sway, to have all things changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come hither ; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the martyr of the people." At the suggestion of Dr. Juxon, he added, " I die a Christian according to the profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my father."[1]

While he was speaking, some one touched the axe. The King turned hastily around, saying, " Do not spoil the axe, it would hurt me more." Some one else approaching it, " Take care of the axe, take care ! " he repeated. The executioner drew near to him, and kneeling before him, entreated his forgiveness. " No ! " said the King, " I forgive no subject of mine, who comes deliberately to shed my blood." The most profound silence prevailed. The King put on the white satin cap, with his flowing hair gathered up under it. " Is my hair in the way ? " he said to the executioner. " I beg your Majesty to push it more under your cap," replied the man bowing. The King, with the help of the Bishop, did so. " I have on my side a just cause, and a merciful God," he said to his confessor. " Yes, sire," replied Juxon, " there is but one stage more, which though turbulent and troublesome is yet a very short one ; and consider, it will carry you a great way, even from earth to heaven." " I go," replied the King, " from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can take place." He then threw off his cloak and George, and gave the George to Juxon, saying, with emphasis, " Remember."

(1) Lingard, x., 266.

No explanation of this injunction has ever been given, though it has been thought to have reference to the forgiveness of his enemies. The King then took off his coat, put on his cloak again, and looking at the block said to the executioner, "Place it so it may be firm," "It is firm, sir." "I shall say a short prayer," said the King, "and when I hold out my hands thus—strike." He stood in profound meditation, murmured a few words to himself, raised his eyes to heaven, knelt down, and laid his head upon the block. The executioner touched his hair to put it still further under his cap. The King thought he was going to strike. "Wait for the signal," he said. "I shall wait for it, sir, with the good pleasure of your Majesty." In a minute, the King held out his hands ; the executioner struck ; the head fell at a blow. The executioner held it up to the people, crying, "This is the head of a traitor."

The impressions of eye-witnesses of this appalling tragedy are recorded. Philip Henry, son of John Henry, and father of Matthew Henry, the well-known commentator of the Bible, writes, "On the day of [the King's] execution, which was Tuesday, January 30, I stood amongst the crowd in the street before Whitehall Gate, where the scaffold was erected, and saw what was done, but was not so near as to hear anything. The blow I saw given, and can truly say, with a sad heart ; at the instant whereof I remember well there was such a groan by the thousands then present as I never heard before, and desire I may never hear again. There was according to order, one troop immediately marching fromwards Charing Cross to Westminster, and another fromwards Westminster to Charing Cross, purposely to masker the people, and to disperse

and scatter them, so that I had much ado amongst the rest to escape home without hurt."[1]

Dr. Richard Parr, in his "Life of Archbishop Ussher," thus describes the emotions of the primate, surveying a part of the same fatal scene: "The Lady Peterborough's house, where my lord then lived, being just over against Charing Cross, divers of the Countess's gentlemen and servants got upon the leads of the house, from whence they could see plainly what was acting before Whitehall. As soon as His Majesty came upon the scaffold, some of the household came and told my lord primate of it, and asked him if he would see the King once more before he was put to death. My lord was at first unwilling, but was at last persuaded to go up; as well out of his desire to see His Majesty once again, as also curiosity, since he could scarce believe what they told him, unless he saw it. When he came upon the leads, the King was in his speech. The lord primate stood still and said nothing; but sighed, and lifting up his hands and eyes, full of tears, towards heaven, seemed to pray earnestly. But when His Majesty had done speaking, and had pulled off his cloak and doublet, and stood stripped in his waistcoat, and that the villains in vizards began to put up his hair, the good bishop, no longer able to endure so dismal a sight, and being full of grief and horror for that most wicked fact, now ready to be executed, grew pale, and began to faint; so that if he had not been observed by his own servant, and some others, that stood near him, who therefore supported him, he had swooned away. So they presently carried him down, and laid him on his bed,

(1) Fea, 46, 47. Cf. Philip Henry, Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biography," vi., 143, 144; also Pepys' "Diary," October 3rd, 1660, vol. i, 100.

where he used those powerful weapons, which God has left His people in such afflictions, namely prayers and tears ; tears that so horrid a sin should be committed ; and prayers, that God would give his prince patience and constancy to undergo these cruel sufferings ; and that He likewise would not, for the vindication of His own honour and providence, permit so great a wickedness to pass unpunished."[1]

(1) Wordsworth's " Ecclesiastical Biography," vi., 143, 144. Note

CHAPTER XVII.

ST. GEORGE'S, WINDSOR.

1649.

The body of the King—Application for burial—The funeral procession to Windsor—Selection of the place of burial—The burial in St. George's Chapel—The Burial Office denied—Discovery of the coffin in 1813.

Sir Thomas Herbert, who remained within the window of the banqueting house, states that, when the deed of death was done, "the Bishop coming thence with the Royal corpse, which was immediately coffined, and covered with a black velvet pall, he and Mr. Herbert went with it to the back stairs to be embalmed."[1] The body remained the rest of that day and the day following in the Palace of Whitehall. The next day, February 1st, "being embalmed and assuredly coffined, and those wrapped in lead, and covered with a new velvet pall [it] was removed to the King's house at St. James's, where was great pressing by all sorts of people to see the King, or where he was—a doleful spectacle! But few had leave to enter and behold it."[2] The royal physician, Dr. Bate, records that "Cromwell, that he to the full glut his traitorous eyes with that spectacle, having opened the coffin wherein the body was carried

(1) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 146.
(2) Ibid, 147.

from the scaffold into the palace, curiously viewed it, and with his fingers severed the head from the shoulder, as we have been informed by an eye-witness.'[1] Sir Purbeck Temple, with infinite difficulty, and by making great interest, was admitted to see the remains of the King. As the coffin was unclosed, Axtel said, "If thou thinkest there is any holiness in it, look there." "And the King," added Sir Purbeck Temple, "seemed to smile as in life."[2]

The last office which His Majesty's faithful servants had to perform for their master, was that of his burial. They had agreed that Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster Abbey, was the fittest place, to inter his body, by the side of Mary Queen of Scots, King James I. and Prince Henry.

"Whereupon Mr. Herbert made his application to such as were then in power for leave to bury the King's body in King Henry VII.'s Chapel, among his ancestors; but his request was denied, this reason being given, that probably it would attract infinite numbers of people of all sorts thither, to see where the King was buried, which, as the times then were, was judged unsafe and inconvenient. Mr. Herbert acquainting the Bishop therewith, they then resolved to bury the King's body in the Royal Chapel of St. George within the Castle of Windsor, both in regard His Majesty was sovereign of the most noble Order of the Garter, and that several Kings, his great ancestors, are there interred, namely, King Henry VI., King Edward IV., and King Henry VIII. It was also a castle and place His Majesty took great delight in, as in discourse he oft-times expressed as occasion offered; and withal, for that the Royal Chapel of St. George

(1) Fea, 49.
(2) Strickland, viii., 132.

was (though founded by King Edward III.) rebuilt by King Edward IV. with much more magnificence.

"Upon which considerations, Mr. Herbert made his second address to the Committee of Parliament, who, after some deliberation, gave him an order bearing date the 6th of February, 1648-9, authorizing him and Mr. Mildmay to bury the King's body there, which the Governor was to observe.

"Accordingly, the royal corpse was thither carried from St. James's [Wednesday, February 7] in a hearse covered with black velvet [driven by Murry, the King's coachman], drawn by six horses, also covered with black; after which four coaches followed, two of them covered likewise with black cloth, in which were about a dozen gentlemen, most of them being such as had waited on His Majesty at Carisbrooke Castle, and other places, since His Majesty's going from Newcastle, all or most of them being in black.

"Being come to Windsor Castle. . . they carried the King's body into the Dean's house, which was hung with black, and after to his usual bed-chamber within the palace."[1] For the lying-in-state, three dozen torches were supplied.

Herbert and his companions, after much consideration, had determined to bury the King in the vault of King Edward IV. in the north side of the Choir near the Altar, when "there arrived at the Castle (Thursday, Feb. 8) the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, and the Bishop of London, who had the Parliamentary license to attend the King's body to his grave. To these peers of England, Herbert and Mildmay were quite willing to leave the choice of their master's grave. After further

(1) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 148.

From a painting by Ernest Crofts, R.A. *By courtesy of Miss Phillimore.*

THE BURIAL OF KING CHARLES I.

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examination of the Chapel, the Lords selected the vault, about the middle of the Choir, over against the eleventh stall upon the sovereign's side, in which rested the coffins of King Henry VIII. and Queen Jane Seymour.

"The girdle or circumscription of capital letters in lead, put about the coffin, had only these words, 'King Charles, 1648.'

"The King's body was then brought [Friday, Feb. 9] from his bed-chamber down into St. George's Hall, whence, after a little stay, it was, with a slow and solemn pace (much sorrow in most faces discernible) carried by gentlemen that were of quality, in mourning; the Lords in like habits, followed the Royal Corpse, holding the pall. The Governor with several gentlemen and officers and attendants came after.

"This is memorable, that, at such time as the King's body was brought out of St. George's Hall, the sky was serene and clear, but presently it began to snow, and fell so fast, as by that time they came to the west end of the royal chapel, the black velvet pall was all white (the colour of Innocency) being thick covered over with snow. So went the White King to his grave, in the 48th year of his age, and 22nd year and 10th month of his reign. Letting pass Merlyn's prophecies, some allude it to the white satin His Majesty wore, when he was crowned in Westminster Abbey in the year 1625, former Kings having on purple robes at their Coronation. The King's body being by the bearers set down near the place of burial; the Bishop of London stood ready with the service-book in his hands to have performed his last duty to the King his master, according to the order or form for burial of the dead, set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, which the

Lords likewise desired, but would not be suffered by Colonel Whitchcott, the Governor, by reason of the directory to which (said he) he and others were to be conformable."[1] No argument would move him. "The Bishop of London stood weeping by, to tender that his service which might not be accepted. Then was [the coffin] deposited in silence and sorrow in the vacant place in the vault (the hearse-cloth being cast in after it,) about three of the clock in the afternoon; and the Lords that night, though late, returned to London."[2]

"I saw a Royal Form with eye upturn'd
Rising from furnace of affliction free,
And knew that brow of deep serenity,
Whereon, methought, a crown of glory burn'd,
With a calm smile, as if the death-cry turn'd
On his freed ear to seraph sounds on high!
Still in the guilty place the hideous cry
Bark'd impotent. In quiet hope inurn'd
Was his poor fleshly mantle, but the breath
Of our bad world o'er this unquiet stage
Flouts his blest name, unpardon'd e'en in death,
And thus his holy shade on earth beneath
Still walks 'mid evil tongues from age to age
Bearing the cross, his Master's heritage.
But no unkindly word for evermore
Can reach his rest, or pass th' eternal door."[3]

* * * * * *

"So completely had the republicans succeeded in divesting the Chapel of St. George of every vestige of its original appearance, that when the survivors of that sad, silent funeral, searched, after the Restora-

(1) Herbert, quoted by Fea, 150, 151.
(2) Fuller, iii., 504.
(3) Isaac Williams: The Cathedral.

tion, for the vault into which the royal coffin had been lowered, there were no land-marks to guide them. Some reminiscences alone remained that the coffin had been placed near one enormously large and a small one, supposed to be those of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour."[1]

In 1813, in consequence of some excavations, which became needful at the interment of the Duchess of Brunswick in St. George's Chapel, this vault was discovered by the workmen. When this discovery was announced to the Prince Regent (afterwards George IV.) he intimated his intention to be present at the opening of the tomb. Accordingly, the Prince, attended by several noblemen and Sir Henry Halford, Bart., who wrote an account of the proceedings, followed attentively the opening of the coffin of King Charles. "When the pall was removed, a plain leaden coffin was found with the inscription, 'King Charles, 1648,' in large characters upon a scroll of lead. An internal wooden coffin was found very much decayed. The body was carefully wrapped in cere-cloth, which was made adhesive by some resinous substance that had been applied to exclude the air. When the covering was removed from the face, 'the left eye, in the first moment of exposure was full and open, but vanished almost immediately ; and the pointed beard, so characteristic of the period of King Charles, was perfect. The shape of the face was a long oval' ; and the forehead and temples had lost nothing of their muscular substance. The head, which was loose, when removed, gave a greenish red stain to paper. The hair at the back of the head was cut short, but the rest was perfect, and a portion when cleaned presented a 'beautiful dark brown colour (the beard

(1) Strickland, viii., 133. Note.

being a redder brown). The muscles of the neck had retracted,' and the fourth cervical vertebra was found to be cut through its substance transversely, leaving the surfaces of the divided portions perfectly smooth and even, an appearance which could have been produced only by a heavy blow inflicted with a very sharp instrument, and which furnished the last proof wanting to identify King Charles the First. A portion of the bone from the neck of the King was removed apparently on this occasion, and retained in the family of Sir Henry Halford, until the last half of the nineteenth century, when it was given to the Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VII.) With his usual tact and good taste, the Prince had the vault opened once more, and placed the relic upon the coffin of the Martyr King.[1]

Now, undisturbed, in the vault, in which his devoted servants first laid him, beneath the pavement of the noble Chapel, in which with his Knights he had loved to worship, repose the remains of King Charles. His grave is marked, like the graves of Henry VIII., Jane Seymour and George III. beside him, by a plain slab let into the floor of the Choir, bearing the simple inscription, "King Charles I., 1649." Above him soars the glorious vaulting of the fifteenth century, the cross lights of the great windows play across his grave, and over the canopied stalls of the Choir hang the banners of the Knights of the Garter. The Chapel is restored to more than its original splendour. All vestiges of puritanical intrusion and iconoclasm have been swept away. And daily its walls resound with the choral rendering of the worship of the Church of England, for which the White King died.

(1) Fea, 152. Note.

From a photograph by F. Frith & Co., Ltd., Reigate.

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL — WINDSOR.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

EULOGIUM.

HERE ends the story of King Charles the Martyr, and here upon his grave we lay our tributes to his memory. And first the eulogy of the King's own servant and Chancellor, Sir Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon :

" It will not be unnecessary to add a short character of his person, that posterity may know the inestimable loss which the nation then underwent, in being deprived of a prince, whose example would have had a greater influence upon the manners and piety of the nation, than the most strict laws can have. To speak first of his private qualifications as a man, before the mention of his princely and royal virtues ; he was, if ever any, the most worthy of the title of an honest man ; so great a lover of justice, that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful action, except it was so disguised to him that he believed it to be just. He had a tenderness and compassion of nature which restrained him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing : and therefore he was so apt to grant pardon to malefactors, that the judges of the land represented to him the damage and insecurity to the public, that flowed from such his indulgence. And then he restrained himself from pardoning either murders or highway robberies, and quickly discerned the fruits of his severity by a

wonderful reformation of those enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his devotions ; he was never known to enter upon his recreations or sports, though never so early in the morning, before he had been at public prayers ; so that on hunting days his chaplains were bound to a very early attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private cabinet devotions ; and was so severe an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of religion, that he could never endure any light or profane word, with what sharpness of wit soever it was covered ; and though he was well pleased and delighted with reading verses made upon any occasion, no man durst bring before him anything that was profane or unclean. That kind of wit had never any countenance then. He was so great an example of conjugal affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular did not brag of their liberty : and he did not only permit, but direct, his bishops to prosecute those scandalous vices, in the ecclesiastical courts, against persons of eminence, and near relation to his service.

" His kingly virtues had some mixture and allay, that hindered them from shining in full lustre, and from producing those fruits they should have been attended with. He was not in his nature very bountiful, though he gave much. This appeared more after the Duke of Buckingham's death, after which those showers fell very rarely ; and he paused too long in giving, which made those, to whom he gave, less sensible of the benefit. He kept state to the full, which made his court very orderly ; no man presuming to be seen in a place where he had no pretence to be. He saw and observed men long before he received them about his person ; and did not love strangers ; nor very confident men. He

was a patient hearer of causes ; which he frequently accustomed himself to at the council board ; and judged very well, and was dexterous in the mediating part : so that he often put an end to causes by persuasion, which the stubbornness of men's humours made dilatory in courts of justice.

" He was very fearless in his person ; but not very enterprising. He had an excellent understanding, but was not confident enough of it ; which made him often times change his opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of men that did not judge so well as himself. This made him more irresolute than the conjuncture of his affairs would admit ; if he had been of a rougher and more imperious nature, he would have found more respect and duty. And his not applying some severe cures to approaching evils proceeded from the lenity of his nature, and the tenderness of his conscience, which, in all cases of blood, made him choose the softer way, and not hearken to severe counsels, how reasonably soever urged. This only restrained him from pursuing his advantage in the first Scottish expedition, when, humanly speaking, he might have reduced that nation to the most slavish obedience that could have been wished. But no man can say he had then many who advised him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indisposition all his council had to fighting, or any other fatigue. He was always an immoderate lover of the Scottish nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that people, and besieged by them always, having few English about him till he was king ; and the major number of his servants being still of that nation, who he thought could never fail him. And among these, no man had such an ascendant over him, by the humblest insinuations, as Duke Hamilton had.

" As he excelled in all other virtues, so in temperance he was so strict, that he abhorred all debauchery to that degree, that, at a great festival solemnity, where he once was, when very many of the nobility of the English and Scots were entertained, being told by one who withdrew from thence, what vast draughts of wine they drank, and ' that there was one earl, who had drank most of the rest down, and was not himself moved or altered,' the King said, ' that he deserved to be hanged ' ; and that earl coming shortly after into the room where His Majesty was, in some gayety, to shew how unhurt he was from that battle, the King sent one to bid him withdraw from His Majesty's presence ; nor did he in some days after appear before him.

" So many miraculous circumstances contributed to his ruin, that men might well think that heaven and earth and the stars designed it. Though he was, from the first declension of his power, so much betrayed by his own servants, that there were very few who remained faithful to him, yet that treachery proceeded not from any treasonable purpose to do him harm, but from particular and personal animosities against other men. And, afterwards, the terror all men were under of the parliament, and the guilt they were conscious of themselves, made them watch all opportunities to make themselves gracious to those who could do them good ; and so they became spies upon their master, and from one piece of knavery were hardened and confirmed to undertake another, till at last they had no hope of preservation but by the destruction of their master. And after all this, when a man might reasonably believe that less than a universal defection of three nations could not have reduced a great King to so ugly a fate, it is most certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus

wickedly murdered in the sight of the sun, he had as great a share in the hearts and affections of his subjects in general, was as much beloved, esteemed, and longed for by the people in general of the three nations, as any of his predecessors had ever been. To conclude, he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived produced. And if he were not the best King, if he were without some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy, no other prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice."[1]

David Hume, in notes to his "History of England," gives this vindication of the character of King Charles I.

"The imputation of insincerity on Charles I., like most party clamours, is difficult to be removed; though it may not here be improper to say something with regard to it. I shall first remark that this imputation seems to be of a later growth than his own age; and that even his enemies, though they loaded him with many calumnies, did not insist on this accusation. Ludlow, I think, is almost the only parliamentarian who imputes that vice to him; and how passionate a writer he is must be obvious to every one. Neither Clarendon, nor any other of the royalists, ever justify him from insincerity, as not supposing that he had ever been accused of it. In the second place, his deportment and character in common life was free from that vice. He was reserved, distant, stately; cold in his address, plain in his discourse, inflexible in his principles; wide of the caressing, insinuating manners of his son, or the professing, talkative humour of his father.

(1) Clarendon: vol. vi., bk. xi., pp. 230–234.

The imputation of insincerity must be grounded on some of his public actions, which we are in the third place to examine. The following are the only instances which I find cited to confirm that accusation : (1) His vouching Buckingham's narrative of the transactions in Spain. But it is evident that Charles himself was deceived ; why, otherwise, did he quarrel with Spain ? The following is a passage of a letter from Lord Kensington, ambassador in France, to the Duke of Buckingham (Cabala, p. 318) : But his highness (the prince) had observed as great a weakness and folly as that, in that after they (the Spaniards) had used him so ill, they would suffer him to depart, which was one of the first speeches he uttered after he came into the ship. ' But did he say so ? ' said the queen (of France). ' Yes, madam, I will assure you,' quoth I, ' from the witness of mine own ears.' She smiled and replied, ' Indeed, I have heard he was used ill.' ' So he was,' answered I, ' but not in his entertainment, for that was as splendid as that country could afford ; but in their frivolous delays and in the unreasonable conditions which they propounded and pressed upon the advantage they had of his princely person.' (2) Bishop Burnet, in his ' History of the House of Hamilton,' p. 154, has preserved a letter of the King's to the Scottish Bishops, in which he desires them not to be present at the Parliament, where they would be forced to ratify the abolition of their own order : ' For,' adds the king, ' we do hereby assure you that it shall be still one of our chiefest studies how to rectify and establish the government of that Church aright, and to repair your losses, which we desire to be most confident of.' And in another place, ' You may rest secure that though perhaps we may give way for the present to that which will

be prejudicial both to the Church and our own government, yet we shall not leave thinking in time how to remedy both.' But does the king say he will arbitrarily revoke his concessions? Does not candour require us rather to suppose that he hoped his authority would so far recover as to enable him to obtain the national consent to re-establish episcopacy which he believed so material a part of religion as well as of government? It is not easy, indeed, to think how he could hope to effect this purpose in any other way than his father had taken: that is, by consent of Parliament. (3) There is a passage in Lord Clarendon where it is said that the king assented the more easily to the bill which excluded the bishops from the House of Peers, because he thought that that law, being enacted by force, could not be valid; but the King certainly reasoned right in that conclusion. Three-fourths of the temporal peers were at that time banished by the violence of the populace; twelve bishops were unjustly thrown into the Tower by the Commons; great numbers of the Commons themselves were kept away by fear or violence; the King himself was chased from London. If all this be not force, there is no such thing.

"But this scruple of the king's affects only the bishops' bill, and that against pressing. The other constitutional laws had passed without the least appearance of violence, as did indeed all the bills passed during the first year, except Strafford's attainder, which could not be recalled. The Parliament, therefore, even if they had known the king's sentiments in this particular, could not, on that account, have had any just foundation of jealousy. (4) The king's letter intercepted at Naseby has been the source of much clamour. [This refers to the King's cabinet, containing his private correspondence with

his wife, which fell into the hands of Fairfax on the field of Naseby, and a selection of which was published by the Parliament. The letters reveal the efforts of both the King and Queen to obtain assistance for the royal cause in the shape of men and money from outside of England; together with the King's assurance that he never would embrace any measures which the Queen disapproved. While these designs might exasperate the parliamentarian party, they would seem to be entirely justifiable in the circumstances of the rebellion.][1] (5) The denying of his commission to Glamorgan is another instance which has been cited. [But the King never made Glamorgan a plenipotentiary. He gave Glamorgan, indeed, a private commission to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholics in Ireland, but Glamorgan was enjoined to act altogether in concert with Ormond, the Lord-Lieutenant.] 'If upon necessity any [articles] be condescended unto, wherein the King's lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at present publicly to own.' Here no articles are mentioned which are not fit to be communicated to Ormond, but only not fit for him and the King to be seen in and to avow. The King's protestation to Ormond ought, both on account of that prince's character and the reasons he assigns, to have the greatest weight. The words are these: 'Ormond, I cannot but add to my long letter that, upon the word of a Christian, I never intended Glamorgan should treat anything without your approbation, much less without your knowledge. For, besides the injury to you, I was always diffident of his judgment (though I could not think him so extremely weak as now, to my cost, I have found), which you may easily perceive in a postscript of a letter

(1) *Vide* Appendix, Note (H).

of mine to you.' . . .[1] That transaction [Glamorgan's mission] was entirely innocent. Even if the king had given a commission to Glamorgan to conclude that treaty, and had ratified it, will any reasonable man in our age think it strange, that in order to save his own life, his crown, his family, his friends, and his party, he should make a treaty with papists, and grant them very large concessions for their religion? (6) There is another of the King's intercepted letters to the queen commonly mentioned, where it is pretended he talked of raising and then destroying Cromwell; but that story stands on no manner of foundation.[2] . . . In a word, the Parliament after the commencement of their violences, and still more after beginning the civil war, had reason for their scruples and jealousies, founded on the very nature of their situation, and on the general propensity of the human mind, not on any fault of the king's character, who was candid, sincere, upright, as much as any man whom we meet with in history. Perhaps it would be difficult to find another so unexceptionable in this particular.

"As to the other circumstances of Charles' character chiefly exclaimed against—namely, his arbitrary principles in government—one may venture to assert that the greatest enemies of this prince will not find, in the long line of his predecessors, from the Conquest to this time, any one King, except perhaps his father, whose administration was not more arbitrary, and less legal, or whose conduct could have been recommended to him by the popular party themselves, as a model, in this particular, for his government. . . .

"What a paradox in human affairs that Henry VIII. should have been almost adored in his lifetime,

(1) Hume, v., 560.
(2) Hume, vol. v. Note L., pp. 562, 563. *Vide* Appendix Note (I).

and his memory be respected, while Charles I. should, by the same people, at no greater distance than a century, have been led to a public and ignominious execution, and his name be ever after pursued by falsehood and by obloquy ! "[1]

After these words of the Tory historian, it will be well to give the estimate of a writer of very different political principles, Henry Hallam, in his " Constitutional History of England." Of King Charles, he says, " His offences were not, in the worst interpretation, of that atrocious character which calls down the vengeance of insulted humanity, regardless of positive law. His government had been very arbitrary ; but it may well be doubted whether any, even of his ministers, could have suffered death for their share in it, without introducing a principle of barbarous vindictiveness. Far from the sanguinary misanthropy of some monarchs, or the revengeful fury of others, he had in no instance displayed, nor does the minutest scrutiny since made into his character entitle us to suppose, any malevolent dispositions beyond some proneness to anger, and a considerable degree of harshness in his demeanour. As for the charge of having caused the bloodshed of the war, upon which, and not on any former misgovernment, his condemnation was grounded, it was ill-established as it would have been insufficient. Well might the Earl of Northumberland say, when the ordinance for the King's trial was before the Lords, that the greatest part of the people of England were not yet satisfied whether the King levied war first against the houses, or the houses against him. The fact, in my opinion, was entirely otherwise. It is quite another question whether the parliament were justified in their resistance to the King's legal authority.

(1) Hume, vol. v. Note O, pp. 564-566.

But we may contend that, when Hotham, by their command, shut the gates of Hull against his sovereign, when the militia was called out in different counties by an ordinance of the two houses, both of which preceded by several weeks any levying of forces for the King, the bonds of our constitutional law were by them and their servants snapped asunder; and it would be the mere pedantry and chicane of political casuistry to inquire, even if the fact could be better ascertained, whether at Edgehill, or in the minor skirmishes that preceded, the first carbine was discharged by a cavalier or a roundhead. The aggressor in a war is not the first who uses force, but the first who renders force necessary."[1]

King Charles the First needs no vindication at the bar of history. It is only Puritanical prejudice and Republican rancour that persist in disparaging his memory. The purity of his personal life was without reproach. No one has ever ventured to question the genuineness of his religion. He accepted his crown, at his coronation, from the hands of God, and throughout his reign he held and administered his sovereignty as a trust and responsibility delivered to him by the Divine Sovereign of the Universe. Let it be admitted that sometimes he erred in judgment, as in his dealings with his Parliaments, in his attempt to oblige the Scots to accept Episcopacy, in his entering the House of Commons to arrest the five members, yet it must be remembered that from the beginning of his reign, Parliament had been recalcitrant, and that in his endeavour to restore the Church in Scotland, King Charles was but acting in accordance with the

(1) Hallam's "Constitutional History of England," vol. ii., Chap. x., 218, 219.

terms of his Coronation Oath and his own deep religious convictions.

The signing the warrant for the death of Strafford is the heaviest accusation that can be laid to his charge. The King had promised to protect Strafford ; but when the critical time came, he found that he had not the power to do so. His very efforts to save the great Earl only served to inflame the passions of Strafford's enemies and the mob which they controlled. The King wrote to Parliament to mitigate the sentence, he even went in person to the House of Lords to plead, and he was long in an agony of suspense before signing the warrant. It was only when the Queen was in mortal danger from the howling mob before Whitehall, when the troops could not be depended upon, when most of his councillors urged him to sign, and when Strafford himself wrote from the Tower absolving his master from his promise, that the King gave his signature to the fatal order, which he wet with his tears. But bitterly he repented of that act during the rest of his life : he vowed to do public penance for it ; and on the scaffold he reminded his hearers that, for an unjust sentence which he had once suffered to take effect, by an unjust sentence he himself was now about to die.

The misfortunes of King Charles are to be attributed to the circumstances of his time and to his advisers rather than to himself. He inherited the traditions of the Tudor monarchy, as handed on to him by his father, the absolutism of the Crown, the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, the enormous debts of James I. and his policy towards both France and Spain. King Charles inherited also the struggle of Parliament to assert itself against the prerogatives of the Crown, as well as the rising and growing wave

of the Puritan revolution. Though supremely happy in his married life, it was a misfortune for him as King to have married a Princess of France, and a Roman Catholick. The Duke of Buckingham, for all his devotion and his personal charm, was an ill councillor for a young King. And some of Buckingham's successors at the Council-board were scarcely wiser. Many times, had the King held to his own judgment instead of theirs, the issue had been different. It is idle to speculate what had been the result of the war, had the King pushed on vigorously to London after Edge Hill and Brentford, or had he pressed the siege of Gloucester to a prompt conclusion.

It has been remarked that "it is usual to blame the duplicity of Charles I. in playing off one faction against the other; but it is not easy to see why the hunted hare may not double." The King was fighting in the field for the maintenance of the Constitution and the Church of England. In the treaties of Oxford, Uxbridge, Newcastle, Carisbrooke and Newport, he fought for the same stakes. If he could divide the forces of his enemies, and align one or more with himself against the others, why should he not do so? The King's sincerity of nature is proved by his adherence to principle. "Had Charles been willing," says Bishop Creighton, "to abandon the Church, and give up Epispocacy, he might have saved his throne, and his life. But on this point Charles stood firm; for this he died, and by dying saved it for the future."

King Charles was a true son of the Church of England. He was well instructed in the Catholick doctrine of the Church. He not only valued, but he depended upon, the prayers, the worship and the Sacraments. His part was a difficult one, between

the virulence of Puritan attacks upon the one hand, and on the other the subtle allurements and attractions of Rome. But he stood firm. Convinced of the truth of his religion, he was content to die for it. For all time, he remains an example of unalterable loyalty to a great cause. The name of King Charles I. shines brightly in that long line of Confessors, Saints and Martyrs, who, various in their times and circumstances, their character and their condition, yet have united to contribute, in their several generations, to that stream of light and learning, of sanctity and devotion, of steadfastness to principle and noble aims, which illuminates the pages of English history. Alban, Augustine and Paulinus, Oswald, Chad, Etheldreda and Hilda, Cuthbert and Bede, Edmund and Alfred, Dunstan, Edward the Martyr, Alphege, Edward the Confessor, Anselm, Thomas of Canterbury, and Edmund Rich, Thomas More and John Fisher, Richard Hooker, George Herbert, Lancelot Andrewes, William Laud, Lord Falkland and Lord Capel, Thomas Ken, Bishop Wilson, John Keble, Edward Bouverie Pusey, Henry Parry Liddon, John Mason Neale, and many another humble follower of the Lord.

" Praise to our pardoning God ! though silent now
The thunders of the deep prophetic sky,
Though in our sight no powers of darkness bow
Before th' Apostles' glorious company.

" The Martyrs' noble army still is ours ;
Far in the north our fallen days have seen
How in her woe the tenderest spirit towers
For Jesus' sake in agony serene.

" Praise to our God ! not cottage hearths alone,
And shades impervious to the proud world's glare,
Such witness yield : a monarch from his throne
Springs to his Cross and finds his glory there.

" Yes : whereso'er one trace of thee is found,
As in the Sacred Land, the shadows fall :
With beating hearts we roam the haunted ground,
Lone battlefield, or crumbling prison hall.

" And there are aching, solitary breasts,
Whose widow'd walk with thought of thee is cheered,
Our own, our royal Saint ; thy memory rests
On many a prayer, the more for thee endeared.

" True son of our dear Mother, early taught
With her to worship and for her to die,
Nursed in her aisles to more than kingly thought,
Oft in her solemn hours we dream thee nigh.

" For thou didst love to trace her daily lore,
And where we look for comfort or for calm,
Over the self-same lines to bend, and pour
Thy heart with hers in some victorious psalm.

" And well did she thy loyal love repay :
When all forsook, her angels still were nigh ;
Chained and bereft, and on thy funeral way
Straight to the Cross she turned thy dying eye.

" And yearly now, before the Martyrs' King,
For thee she offers her maternal tears,
Calls us, like thee, to His dear feet to cling,
And bury in His wounds our earthly fears.

"The Angels hear, and there is mirth in Heaven,
Fit prelude of the joy, when spirits, won
Like thee to patient Faith, shall rise forgiven
And at their Saviour's knees thy bright example own."

JOHN KEBLE: The Christian Year.

THE END

Photo by W. Mansell & Co. *By courtesy of Miss Phillimore.*

THE STATUE OF KING CHARLES I.
ERECTED AT CHARING CROSS, 1678.

[*Between pages* 390 *and* 391

[1] On the Statue of King Charles the First, at Charing Cross.

In the Year 1674.

That the First *Charles* does here in Triumph ride,
See his Son Reign where he a Martyr Dy'd ;
And People pay that Reverence as they pass,
Which then he wanted, to the sacred Brass ;
Is not th'Effect of Gratitude alone ;
To which we owe the Statue and the Stone :
But Heav'n this lasting Monument has wrought,
That Mortals may Eternally be Taught,
Rebellion, though sucessful, is but vain ;
And Kings so kill'd rise Conquerors again.
This Truth the Royal Image does proclaim,
Loud as the Trumpet of surviving Fame.

POEMS by Edmund Waller.
Epigrams, Epitaphs and Fragments.
No. xii. Page 84. Edition 1777.

(1) THE STATUE OF KING CHARLES I.

This most beautiful and animated equestrian statue in brass of Charles I., cast by Le Sueur for the Earl of Arundel, was not erected at Charing Cross till the year 1678. The Parliament had ordered it to be sold and broken up, but John River, the brazier, who purchased it, having more taste or more loyalty than his masters, buried it unmutilated, and showed to them some broken pieces of brass in token of his obedience. The present pedestal was the work of Grinling Gibbons.

Royalist Calendar 1924.

APPENDIX.

NOTE (A) CHAPTER II. P. 37.

King James I. on the Pope's Supremacy. (1)

"And for myself, if that were yet the question, I would with all my heart, give my consent that the Bishop of Rome should have the first seat. I, being a western King, would go with the patriarch of the west; and for his temporal principality over the signiory of Rome, I do not quarrel it neither. Let him, in God's name, be *primus episcopus inter omnes episcopos, et princeps episcoporum;* so it be no otherwise but as St. Peter was *princeps apostolorum.*"—Book against Bellarmine, 1616. (2).

The Pope at that time quickly perceived that the courtship of the Infanta of Spain was not an opportunity to be lost.

He wrote to the Prince of Wales to the following effect:—

"Most noble Prince,—

"I wish you health and the light of Divine Grace. Britain is so fruitful in illustrious persons and actions," etc., etc.

The Pope then goes on to express the desire that the "bloode Royal of that Kingdom" should embrace the "orthodoxall truth" again.

"Forasmuch therefore as you have transported yourself to the Most Catholic King of Spain, with a desire to match in the House of Austria, We have besought the Father of Light by prayer that ye may be brought by him into the possession of that glorious inheritance; so there are those who stretch forth their hands to go through that happy country of them who have conducted you safe to the Court of the Catholic King and are destined to carry you back into the bosom of the Roman Church.

"Given at Rome at St. Peter's,
"2nd April, 1623."

(1) Neither King James nor King Charles were at enmity with the Pope. But neither encouraged Romanism to the detriment of the Church of England. "Royalist Revelations," Henry Stuart Wheatly-Crowe.

(2) Halliwell ii., 187, Note 2.

The answer of Charles Prince of Wales to the Pope's letter was as follows :—

" We have received your Holiness' letter with much thankfulness and respect as is due to the same. The feeling which your Holiness hath and your judgment which it gave of my desire to treat of an alliance with the Catholique King by means of a marriage with his sister is most conformable to your Holiness' charity and wisdom. For it is most certain I would never else so earnestly procure to tye myself with the strict bond of marriage, and with a person whose religion I never could endure. Wherefore let your Holiness be persuaded that my mind now is and always shall be far from plotting anything contrary to the Roman religion ; nay rather I will see occasion to blot out of the minds of all men the suspicions that might be held of me.

" Signed, Devotissimus, Charles P."

Prince Charles to the Pope (1)

20th April, 1623.

"Your holiness' letters I have received with no less gratitude and reverence, than that feeling of uncommon goodwill and piety demanded, wherewith I know they have been indited. And that exhortation from your holiness has been to me especially welcome, that you have set before me the examples of my ancestors, which can never be sufficiently commended for my inspection and imitation. They, although they encountered the difficulty of various fortunes, and the danger of life itself, that they might more widely propagate the Christian faith ; yet never did they carry the standard of Christ's Cross against his most violent enemies with a more cheerful spirit, than I will use all aid and endeavour, that the peace and unity of the Christian Commonwealth, which hath been so long banished, may be brought back, returning, as it were, from captivity or the grave ; for, since the subtlety and malice of the father of discords hath sown the seeds of such unhappy differences among those who profess the Christian religion, this measure I deem most necessary, in order to promote more successfully the hallowed glory of God and our Saviour, his Christ ; and I shall esteem it no less honour

(1) Halliwell ii., 196—198. MS. Lansdowne, 1236, Art. 1.

to myself to tread in the well-worn track of my ancestors, and to approve myself a zealous imitator of them in holy and religious undertakings, than to have derived my descent and origin from them. And to this same the inclination of my lord king and father very much fires me, and the ardent desire, wherewith he is animated to put forth a helping hand to so pious a work, as well as the grief which preys upon his royal breast, when he weighs and ponders what cruel slaughters, what deplorable calamities have arisen from the dissensions of Christian princes.

"Further,—The judgment which your holiness hath formed of my desire of contracting affinity and marriage with the house of the Catholic prince, is a test both of your charity and wisdom ; for never should I feel so earnest as I do to be joined to any one living in that close and indissoluble bond, whose religion I hated. Wherefore be your holiness persuaded that I am and ever shall be of such moderation as to keep aloof, as far as possible, from every undertaking, which may testify any hatred towards the Roman Catholic religion; nay rather I will seize all opportunities, by a gentle and generous mode of conduct, to remove all sinister suspicions entirely ; so that as we all confess one undivided Trinity, and one Christ Crucified, we may be banded together unanimously into one faith. That I may accomplish this, I will reckon as trifling all my labours and vigilance, and even the hazards of kingdoms and life itself.

"It remaineth only that, in returning your holiness the greatest possible thanks for the letters which I hold in the light of an illustrious gift, I pray for your every prosperity and happiness everlasting.

"Your holiness' most devoted,

"CAROLUS P."

But when the dispensation arrived at Madrid so many conditions had been embodied into it which Charles did not approve or agree to that he definitely abandoned all idea of a marriage treaty, and left Madrid. This is further shown by a letter from the Prince to King James, dated April 27th, 1623, Madrid, in which Charles speaks of the arrival of the Pope's dispensation "and the conditions thereof not being satisfactory. We beseech your Majesty be assured that we will yield to nothing but what you may perform both with honour and conscience."

Another letter was written from Madrid, June 6th, 1623, to say that the treaty was impossible—" they could not agree."

Both these letters, signed with the irregular characters of a youthful autograph, are preserved in the Manuscript Room of the British Museum.

The letter to the Pope was written in Latin and endorsed by Prince Charles :—

" Copie of my letter to the Pope.

" CHARLES P."

There is no doubt that the marriage, which was desired for political reasons, would have taken place, but from the moment that the Pope forced the religious question Prince Charles withdrew from it altogether and returned to England.

It is not, perhaps, generally known that while on this romantic visit to Madrid he caused the Prayer Book to be translated into Spanish to make its principles better understood in Western Christendom.

The Prophecy of Bishop Andrews.

Bishop Matthew Wren—

A remarkable prophecy was uttered by the Bishop of Winchester (Andrews) on the return of Bishop Matthew Wren who accompanied Prince Charles to Spain.

It is recorded in the words of Bishop Matthew Wren

" There at Winchester House I found those three Lords, Bishops of Durham, Winchester and St. David's, who causing me to sit down my Lord of Durham began to me :

" We must know of you, what your thoughts are concerning our Master the Prince, you have now been his servant above two years and you were with him in Spain. We know he respects you well and we know that you are no fool, but can observe how the Prince's heart stands to the Church of England, that when God brings him to the Crown we may know what to hope for—

" I said I know my Master's learning is not equal to his Father's yet I know his Judgment to be very right, and as for his affection in these particulars which your Lordships have pointed at for upholding the doctrine, discipline and right estate of the Church I have more confidence of him than of his Father. Hereupon my Lords of Durham and St. David's began to argue with me (above an hour together). Then my Lord of Winchester who had said nothing all the while bespake these words :—

" Well, Doctor, God send you may be a good Prophet con-

cerning your Master's inclinations in these particulars which we are glad to hear from you. I am sure I shall be a true Prophet ; I shall be in my grave, and so will you my Lord of Durham, but my Lord of St. David's and you Doctor, will live and see that your Master will be put to it upon his head and his Crown, without he will forsake the support of the Church.

" Of these predictions made by that holy father," adds the writer, " I have now no witness but mine own conscience and the Eternal God who knows I lie not ; nobody else being present when this was spoken but those three Lords."

Royalist Calendar, 1924, p. 11.

CATHERINE MARY PHILLIMORE.

NOTE (B) CHAPTER VII. P. 166.

The Scottish Prayer Book of 1637.

A real Episcopate was provided for Scotland by the consecration, in 1610, of Archbishop Spottiswood, Bishop Lamb, and Bishop Hamilton, for the sees of Glasgow, Brechin and Galloway. Spottiswood became Archbishop of St. Andrew's in 1615 ; and in the same year he seems to have drawn up a list of the wants of the Scottish Church, among which was included the lack of a form of Divine Service. In 1616, the General Assembly at St. Andrew's, under Spottiswood's presidency, agreed to the proposal (which King James had expressly supported) that an uniform order of Liturgy should be framed. James determined to accustom the inhabitants of Edinburgh to the presence of the English ritual by establishing it in the Chapel Royal of Holyrood, where, on Saturday, May 17th, 1617, it was for the first time performed with " singing of choristers, playing on organs, and surplices," in the King's own presence. A celebration followed on Whit-Sunday, when Bishop Andrewes preached. One other public step was taken in James' reign—the promulgation in 1620 of an Ordinal for Scotland. Charles I., at his accession, resumed the project of a Scottish Liturgy, and carefully considered the book, which his father had received. In September, 1629, Laud, then Bishop of London, was visited by Dr. John Maxwell, one of the Edinburgh clergy, who told him in the King's name that he was desired to communicate with some Scottish Bishops, including Archbishop Spottiswood, concerning a Liturgy for that Church. In

June, 1633, King Charles was crowned at Holyrood; and Maxwell appeared among the prelates as Bishop elect of Ross. Some thought that this would have been a favourable time for proposing the reception of the English Liturgy in Scotland. But the King gave way to the urgency of some of the Scottish Bishops for a Liturgy of their own. They used not only the argument from national feeling but also this, "that if they did not then make the book as perfect as they could, they should never be able to get it perfected after." The King ordered an Episcopal Commission in Scotland to prepare a Liturgy, and to communicate with Laud, now Archbishop of Canterbury, who was commanded to give his "best assistance in this way and work." Charles, in the meantime, determined that nothing should be wanting for the due performance of the English ritual at Holyrood: in October, 1633, he sent orders for that purpose, one of which was, "that there be prayers twice a day with the quire, according to the English Liturgy, till some course be taken for making one that may fit the customs and constitutions of that Church." The two chief compilers were Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane. In fact, if the book were to be called after any one man, it should be known as "Maxwell's Liturgy." The King himself was eager and painstaking; having sanctioned a first draft of the book on September 28th, 1634, he gave a Royal Warrant in April, 1636, for the revised form sent by Laud to Wedderburn; and most of Laud's alterations were written down in the presence of the King. As early as September 30th, 1633, Laud had urged Spottiswood to proceed strictly according to law, "because His Majesty had no intendment to do anything but that which was according to honour and justice, and the laws of that kingdom." [1] The misfortune was, that some of the Scottish Bishops, as well as Charles I. himself, appear to have regarded as legal what to the Scottish nation seemed an intolerable excess of power. Spottiswood relied on royal prerogative as sufficient to warrant the introduction of the Liturgy. Maxwell held that the Bishops, who "had the authority to govern the Church, and were the presentative Church of the kingdom," had as such concurred with the King in introducing the Liturgy. The Canons, which commanded the use of the Liturgy, were promulgated by letters

[1] Laud's Works iii., 429.

patent, on the ground of royal prerogative in causes ecclesiastical, May 23rd, 1635, and published early in 1636. The Service-book was authorized by a Royal Warrant of October 18th, 1636, and by an Act of the Scottish Privy Council, December 20th, 1636. The book itself was too good to be appreciated by a people so deeply alienated, as Grub observes, "from what had been the common heritage of Christendom for fifteen centuries." Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, agreed with Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, that since the first six centuries there had been no such Liturgy; and Maxwell himself declared it to be "one of the most orthodox and perfect Liturgies in the Christian Church."

By the King's express order (October 18th, 1636) six chapters from Wisdom were appointed for three Saints' days, six from Ecclesiasticus for three others. He also commanded that some names of Scottish Saints, especially those of royal blood, and some of the most holy Bishops, as David, Kentigern, Colman, Columba, Palladius, Ninian, Margaret, should be placed in the Calendar. The Communion Office was in more ways than one indicative of Wedderburn's desire to return to the first Liturgy of Edward VI. In particular, there should be noticed the passage, in the Prayer for the Church, beginning with the words "And we also bless Thy holy Name for all Thy servants who having finished their course in faith do now rest from their labours;" the position of the Prayer of Access just before the Communion; the Invocation in the Prayer of Consecration, "And of Thy Almighty goodness vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with Thy word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son: so that we receiving them according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of the same His most precious Body and Blood: who in the night . . ."

The story of the introduction of this Service-book into Scotland has been told. It was made the occasion of sacrilegious outbreaks; it virtually kindled the first flames of civil war. Those who were most active, or interested, in its promulgation, the King himself and Archbishop Laud, perished on the scaffold; Bishop Wedderburn died an exile in England, in 1639; Bishop Maxwell, translated to the Archbishopric of Tuam, plundered and wounded by Romanist insurgents, was

found lifeless on his knees, February 14th, 1646. "Years pass away; the Restoration arrives, and the Church of England has to re-settle her Prayer Book. In this work, the ill-fated Scottish Prayer Book is unexpectedly and manifoldly influential; it assists the orthodox Caroline revisers to raise the tone of the English book by various significant though gentle alterations, and in this way it materially strengthens the hold of Catholic belief and devotion on the hearts of the English race." (1) The Scottish Church itself, when at the close of the seventeenth century it revised its Liturgy, "adopts from the book of 1637 a Communion Office, which, passing through several revisions, becomes the known standard of a deeply earnest Churchmanship, imparts one of its main features to the American rite, and may yet, in God's Providence, do a work for Faith and Unity." (2) Furthermore, to-day, in that same city of Edinburgh, where, in 1637, the Church service was broken up by mob violence, there stands the noble Cathedral of St. Mary, with its high altar crowned with a reredos of the Crucifixion, wrought in marble and alabaster, the gift of the ladies of Scotland. Here, day by day, the Holy Sacrifice is offered, and the Divine offices are said or sung. Truly King Charles and his Bishops laboured and died not in vain!

NOTE (C) TO CHAPTER VII. P. 168 AND CHAPTER VIII. P. 189.

James Graham, Marquess of Montrose.

The fifth Earl of Montrose was opposed to the policy of King Charles in giving political authority to the Scottish Bishops and in imposing the Liturgy upon Scotland. He joined the party of resistance in 1637, and signed the Covenant. In 1639, after the Pacification of Berwick, Montrose visited the King, and his conversion to the royal cause may be reckoned from this time. In this, he anticipated the conversion of Falkland, Wentworth and Hyde. Indeed, "it was something more than Stuart fascination, which transformed opponents like Wentworth, Hyde or Montrose, into passionate royalists." Montrose wished to get rid of the bishops without making presbyters masters of the state. He aimed at a form

(1) William Bright, D.D., in Appendix II of Blunt's Annotated Prayer Book.
(2) Ibid.

of society, in which the clergy should confine themselves to their spiritual functions, and the King, enlightened by open communication with the Scottish nation, should maintain law and order without respect of persons. In the Scottish Parliament, which met in September, 1639, Montrose was in opposition to the Earl of Argyle, who led the presbyterian and national middle-class party. Montrose would have brought to the King's support a great number of the nobility, if at that time the King could have consented to abandon the bishops. In the Second Bishops' War of 1640, Montrose entered England with the Scots' army, and distinguished himself in the action at Newburn-on-Tyne. On the 27th of May, 1641, he was summoned before the Committee of Estates, charged with intrigues against Argyle, and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. Here he remained during the King's second visit to Scotland ; but, upon the King's return to England, Montrose shared in the amnesty which was granted to all the partisans of King Charles. In the autumn of 1641, while the King was still in Scotland, great excitement was caused by the sudden departure by night of Argyle, Hamilton and Lanerick, who alleged that they had discovered a plot contrived by the King and Montrose for their secret arrest and execution. The three noblemen were induced soon to return to the Parliament in Edinburgh, and the King, outraged by such a calumny, demanded a public investigation of "The Incident,"(1) as it was called. But this the party of Argyle would never permit. It is enough to contrast the chivalrous, open-hearted candour of King Charles and Montrose with the shifty, intriguing character of Argyle and his political associates, to put an effectual close to "The Incident."

In 1644, Montrose was created a Marquess and was commissioned to raise troops in Scotland for the royal cause. He was soon at the head of a considerable force of Highlanders and Irish, and in six battles—Tippermuir, Aberdeen, Inverlochy, Auldearn, Alford and Kilsyth—he met and defeated the Covenanters. He proved himself to be the greatest soldier of the war on the side of the King. By August, 1645, Montrose was apparently master of Scotland. The King appointed him Lord-Lieutenant and Captain-General of

(1) One of the machinations of Argyll. The King was exonerated from all blame by the Privy Council. "Royalist Revelations," Henry Stuart Wheatly-Crowe.

Scotland. We have traced already the anxiety with which the King looked to Montrose for help after the disaster of Naseby. On September 12th, of the same year, Montrose was surprised and defeated by Leslie at Philiphaugh, and the hope of help from Scotland was at an end. Montrose escaped to the highlands, and a year later embarked for Norway. In 1650, burning to avenge the murder of his King, he returned to Scotland. His little band of Royalists was defeated, and he himself, a fugitive, was surrendered treacherously to the faction of Argyle by Macleod of Assynt, to whose protection he had entrusted himself. He was brought a prisoner to Edinburgh, sentenced to death by the Parliament, and hanged with circumstances of barbarous brutality and vindictiveness on May 21st, 1650. A tardy justice has collected his remains and placed over them a fitting monument in St. Giles', Edinburgh.

Note (D) Chapter VIII. p. 197.

His Majesty's Second Visit to Little Gidding.

" It so happened that in the year 1642 the troubles in this land began to grow to height ; and the King and Prince were forced by the disorders at London to repair to York. And the King lodging with the Prince and some other nobility at Huntingdon one night, the next afternoon it was his gracious pleasure to come and honour Little Gidding with his royal presence, the Prince attending him, the Palsgrave, the Duke of Lennox, and divers other nobles ; and where His Majesty staid some hours.

" First he went to view the Chapel, and was pleased to express his good liking of it, saying, it was a fine neat thing. ' But,' said he, ' where are those images, etc., so much talked of ? ' Answer was made, ' Such as His Majesty now beheld it, was all that ever was there seen, or in it.' He smiling said to the Duke and Palsgrave, ' I knew it full well, that never any were in it. But what will not malice invent ? ' One lord said, ' It was affirmed to me, that there was a cross in one of the windows in painted glass.' Answer was made, ' Never any, but that if so they meant it, that was upon the crown, that there was placed in painted glass, and the lion that supported the arms had on the crown he wore on his head a little cross, as was ever used in the King's arms and

supporters: and this was all the crosses that ever were seen in Gidding Church; or any other painted glass or pictures.' The King looking up upon it, said, 'What strange reports are in the world!' So the Prince, Palsgrave and Duke all smiled; and the Duke said, 'Envy was *quick-sighted.*' 'Nay,' said the Palsgrave, '*can see what is not.*'

"Then the King was pleased to go into the house, and demanded where the great book was that he had heard was made for Charles' use. It was soon brought unto him; and the largeness and weight of it was such, that he that carried it seemed to be well laden. Which the Duke observing, said, 'Sir, one of your strongest guard will but be able to carry this book.' It being laid on the table before the King, it was told him, that though it were then fairly bound up in purple velvet, that the outside was not fully finished, as it should be, for the Prince's use and better liking. 'Well,' said the King, 'it is very well done.' So he opened the book, the Prince standing at the table's end and the Palsgrave and Duke on each side of the King. The King read the title-page and frontispiece all over very deliberately; and well viewing the form of it, and how adorned with a stately garnish of pictures, etc., and the curiousness of the writing of it, said, 'Charles, here is a book that contains excellent things. This will make you both wise and good.' Then he proceeded to turn it over, leaf by leaf, and took exact notice of all in it: and it being full of pictures of sundry men's cuts, he could tell the Palsgrave, who seemed also to be knowing in that kind, that this and this, and that and that, were of such a man's graving and invention. The Prince all the while greatly eyed all things, and seemed much to be pleased with the book. The King having spent some hours in the perusal of it, and demanding many questions, as occasion was, concerning the contrivement of it, having received answers to all he demanded, at length said, 'It was only a jewel for a Prince: and hoped Charles would make good use of it. And I see and find by what I have myself received from this good house, that they go on daily in the prosecution of these excellent pieces. They are brave employments of their time.' The Palsgrave said to the Prince, 'Sir, your father the King is master of the goodliest ship in the world; and I may now say, you will be master of the gallantest greatest book in the world. For I never saw such paper before; and believe there is no book of this largeness to be seen in Christendom.' 'The

paper and the book in all conditions,' said the King, 'I believe is not to be matched. Here hath also in this book not wanted, you see, skill, care, nor cost.' 'It is a most admirable piece,' replied the Duke of Richmond. So the King closing the book, said 'Charles, this is yours.' He replied, 'But, Sir, shall I not now have it with me?' Reply was made by one of the family. 'If it please your highness, the book is not on the outside so finished as it is intended for you; but shall be, with all expedition, done, and you shall have it.' 'Well,' said the King, 'you must content yourself for a while.'

"The Palsgrave, who had left the King discoursing, had stepped into the other room by, and there seen the poor alms-widows' rooms, which were built for them. He then comes to the King, saying, 'Sir, you shall, if you please go with me, see another good thing, that will like you well.' So the King and Prince followed him, and the Duke. So being come into the widows' rooms, which were handsomely wainscotted, and four beds in them, after the Dutch manner of their almshouses, all along the walls; the room being rubbed, and cleanly kept, the King looking well about him, and upon all things, said, 'Truly this is worth the sight. I did not think to have seen a thing in this kind, that so well pleaseth me. God's blessing be upon the founders of it! Time was,' speaking to the Palsgrave, 'that you would have thought such a lodging not amiss.' 'Yea, Sir,' said he, 'and happy I had had it full often.' So some questions the King asked about the widows, etc., and going out of the room into a long arbour in the garden, the Duke following him, he put his hand into his pocket, and took out of it five pieces in gold, saying to the Duke, 'Let these be given to the poor widows. It is all I have, else they should have more:' (these he had won the night before of the Palsgrave at cards at Huntingdon) 'and will them to pray for me.'

"While the King was walking, and talking, and commending the fine and pleasant situation of the house upon a little hill, which it stood upon, to divers about him, saying, 'Gidding is a happy place in many respects; I am glad I have seen it.' The young lords had gone into the buttery, and there found apple-pies and cheese-cakes, and came out with pieces in their hands, into the parlour, to the Prince, and merrily said, 'Sir, will your highness taste; it is a good apple-pye as ever we eat.' The Prince laughed heartily at

them: so wine was brought. The King came in, saying, 'It grows late: the sun is going down: we must away.' So their horses were brought to the door. The King mounting, those of the family, men and women, all kneeled down, and heartily prayed God to bless and defend him from his enemies; and give him a long and happy reign. He lifting up his hand to his hat, replied, 'Pray, pray for my speedy and safe return.' So the Prince also took horse, and away they went.

"And as the King rode through the grounds, he espied a hare sitting, and then called to the Duke for his piece, which he carried; and as he sat on horseback killed the hare; but not so dead, but she ran a little way. But the Prince, seeing her rise up, skipped off his horse, and ran after her, through two or three furrows of water, and caught her, and laughing shewed her to the King. And away they went: but it was late before they got to Stamford that night.

"I had forgot to relate, that the King, a mile before he came to the house, seeing it stand upon a hill, demanded of Sir Capel Beedells, who then waited upon him, and Sir Richard Stone, the high sheriff, whom he knighted the evening before, when he came into Huntingdon, what house that was that stood so pleasantly. They told him, Little Gidding. 'Is that it? I must go and visit it. Doth not our way lie beneath it?' They said Aye. Those of the family of Little Gidding, out of their windows, seeing the King's company afar off, coming that way, they all went down the hill, to the end of the lordship, and at the bridge attended the King's coming that way, as most desirous to see him, and to kiss his hands. When the King came near them, he asked Sir Capel who those people were? He said the Ferrars' and Colletts' family that dwelt at Gidding. So the King approaching foremost of all, they went all to meet him; and kneeling down prayed God to bless and preserve his majesty, and keep him safe from all his enemies' malice. The King gave them all, as they passed by, his hand to kiss. The Prince, seeing that, came galloping up, and did the like. Some of them went to kiss the Palsgrave's hand, but he refused. But turning to the Duke and the other young lords, he said, 'These ladies will not so soon get up the hill again. Come, let us take them up behind us.' And so he came to persuade them. But they excused themselves, and made haste up the hill. The King rode on purpose a foot pace up the hill,

talking with Sir Capel and Mr. Hill, and demanding many questions.

"And this is what happened at the presenting of this book, which, ever since hath been preserved at Gidding, and attends the happy hour to be delivered into the right owner's hand; which God Almighty grant in His due time! Amen, Amen, Amen."—Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, by P. Peckard, D.D., Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, in Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. v. pp. 236-241. Papers of Mr. John Ferrar.

Note (E) Chapter XI. p. 260.

Glamorgan's Mission.

Warrant from King Charles I. to the Earl of Glamorgan: [1]

Charles Rex,

"Charles by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. To our Right trusty and Right well beloved Cousin, Edward, Earl of Glamorgan, greeting. Whereas we have had sufficient and ample testimony of your approved wisdom and fidelity. So great is the confidence we repose in you as that whatsoever you shall perform as warranted only under our sign manual, pocket signet, or private mark, or even by word of mouth, without further ceremony, we do in the word of a King and a Christian promise to make good to all intents and purposes as effectually as if your authority from us had been under our great seal of England, with this advantage, that we shall esteem ourself far the more obliged to you for your gallantry in not standing upon such nice terms to do us service, which we shall, God willing, reward. And although you exceed what law can warrant, or any power of ours reach unto, as not knowing what you may have need of, yet it being for our service, we oblige ourself not only to give you our pardon, but to maintain the same with all our might and power, and though, either by accident you lose, or by any other occasion you shall deem necessary to deposit, any of our warrants, and so want them at your return, we faithfully promise to make them good at your return, and to supply any things

[1] Quoted by Lingard: vol. x., 412.

wherein they shall be found defective, it not being convenient for us at this time to dispute upon them, for of what we have here set down, you may rest content, if there be faith or truth in man; proceed therefore cheerfully, speedily, and boldly, and for your so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given at our Court at Oxford under our sign manual and private signet, this 12 of January, 1644 (1645).

Glamorgan.

"To our Right trusty and Right well beloved Cousin, Edward, Earl of Glamorgan."

Indorsed, "The Earl of Glamorgan's further authority."

Letter of King Charles I. to the Earl of Glamorgan,[1] dated March 12, 1644 (1645). [2].

"HERBERT,

"I wonder you are not yet gone for Ireland: but since you have stayed all this time, I hope these will overtake you, whereby you will the more see the great trust and confidence I repose in your integrity, of which I have had so long and so good experience: commanding you to deal with all ingenuity and freedom with our lieutenant in Ireland, the Marquess of Ormonde, and, on the word of a King and a Christian, I will make good any thing which our lieutenant shall be induced unto upon your persuasion: and if you find it fitting, you may privately shew him these, which I intend not as obligatory to him, but to myself, and for both your encouragements and warranties, in whom I repose my chiefest hopes, not having in all my kingdome two such subjects; whose endeavours joining, I am confident soon to be drawn out of the mire I am now enforced to wallow in."

Warrant of King Charles I. to the Earl of Glamorgan: [3]

CHARLES R,

"Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. To our right trusty and right well beloved Cousin, Edward, Earl of Glamorgan, Greeting. We reposing great and especial trust, and confidence in your approved wisdom and fidelity, do by these (as firmly as under our great seal to all intents and

(1) Son of the Marquis of Worcester, defender of Raglan Castle. "Royalist Revelations," Henry Stuart Wheatly-Crowe.

(2) Linguard: vol. x., 413, 414.

(3) Ibid, 414.

purposes) Authorise and give you power to treat and conclude with the Confederate Roman Catholics in our Kingdom of Ireland, if upon necessity any thing be to be condescended unto wherein our Lieutenant cannot so well be seen in as not fit for us at the present publicly to own, and therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our warrant with all possible secrecy, and for whatsoever you shall engage yourself, upon such valuable considerations as you in your judgment shall deem fit, we promise, in the word of a King, and a Christian, to ratify and perform the same, that shall be graunted by you, and under your hand and seal, the said Confederate Catholics having by their supplies testified their zeal in our service, and this shall be in each particular to you a sufficient warrant. Given at our Court at Oxford, under our signet and Royal signature, the twelth day of March, in the twentieth year of our reign, 1644 (1645).

" To our Right Trusty and right well beloved Cousin, Edward Earl of Glamorgan."

Charles I. to the Marquess of Ormond. (1)

ORMOND,

"I find by yours to Digby that you are somewhat cautious not to conclude the peace, without at least the concurrence of the Council there, which, if you could procure, I confess it would be so much the better. And therefore I have sent herewithal another letter to you, to be communicated to them, which takes off those restrictions that I laid formerly upon you in a public letter. But the fresh peace is of such absolute necessity, that no compliments or particular respects whatsoever must hinder it. Wherefore I absolutely command you, and without reply, to execute the directions I sent you the 27th February last ; giving you leave to get the approbation of the Council, so as, and no otherwise, that by seeking it, you do not hazard the peace, or so much as an affront, by their foolish refusing to concur with you, promising you, upon the word of a King, if God prosper me, you shall be so far from receiving any prejudice by doing this so necessary work, though alone, that I will account it as one of the chiefest of your great services to me, and accordingly you shall be thought upon by, etc.

"Cardiffe, July 31st, 1645."

(1) Harleian MSS. 4231, p. 11. Halliwell ii., 385, 386.

Charles I. to the Marquess of Ormond. (1)

ORMOND,

"It hath pleased God by many successive misfortunes to reduce my affairs of late from a very prosperous condition to so low an ebb, as to be a perfect trial of all men's integrity of me; and you being a person whom I consider as most entirely and generously resolved to stand and fall with your king, I do principally rely upon you for your uttermost assistance in my present hazards. I have commanded Digby to acquaint you at large with all particulars of my condition—what I have to hope, trust to, or fear; wherein you will find that, if my expectation of relief out of Ireland be not, in some good measure and speedily, answered, I am likely to be reduced to great extremities.

"I hope some of those expresses I sent you, since my misfortune, by the battle of Naseby, are come to you; and I am, therefore, confident that you are in a good forwardness for the sending over to me a considerable supply of men, artillery, and ammunition. All that I have to add is, that the necessity for your speedy performing them is made much more pressing by new disasters; so that I absolutely command you, what hazard soever that kingdom may run by it, personally to bring me all the forces of what sort soever you can draw from thence, and leave the government there, during your absence, in the fittest hands that you shall judge, to discharge it; for I may not want (2) you here to command those forces which will be brought from thence, and such as from hence shall be joined to them.

"But you must not understand this as a permission for you to grant to the Irish (in case they will not otherwise have a peace) anything more in matters of religion, than what I have allowed you already, except only in some convenient parishes. Where the much greater number are Papists, I give you power to permit them to have some places, which they may use as chapels for their devotions; if there be no other impediment for obtaining a peace. But I will rather choose to suffer all extremities than ever to abandon my religion, and particularly either to English or Irish rebels. For which effect, I have commanded Digby to write to their agents, that were employed hither; giving you power to cause to be delivered or suppress the letter, as you shall judge best for my service.

(1) Harleian MSS. 4231, fol. 11. Halliwell ii., 396-398.

(2) i.e. "I cannot dispense with you."

"To conclude, if the Irish shall so unworthily take advantage of my weak condition, as to press me to that, which I cannot grant with a safe conscience, and without it to reject a peace; I command you, if you can, to procure a further cessation; if not, to make what divisions you can amongst them, and rather leave it to the chance of war between them and those forces which cannot draw to my assistance, than to give my consent to any such allowance of Popery as must evidently bring destruction to that profession, which, by the grace of God, I shall ever maintain through all extremities. I know, Ormond, I impose a very hard task upon you; but, if God prosper me, you will be a happy and a glorious subject; if otherwise, you will perish nobly and generously with and for him, who is ever,

"Your faithful sovereign and friend,"

CHARLES R.

On January 29th, 1646, the King sent a message to the two Houses of Parliament, in which he declares that Glamorgan had a commission to raise men, and "to that purpose only"; that he had no commission to treat of any thing else without the privity of Ormond: that he had never sent any information of his having made any treaty with the Roman Catholics, and that he (the King) disavowed him in his proceedings, and had ordered the Irish Council to proceed against him by due course of law. This disavowal had been provided for in the agreement between the King and Glamorgan, before the latter set out for Ireland: that the King, in case of discovery of the secret treaty, should be at liberty to disavow the proceedings of Glamorgan till he might find himself in a situation to despise the complaints and malice of his enemies.

On January 31st, 1646, the King wrote to the Council in Dublin: "To this end (and with the strictest limitations we could enjoin him, merely to those particulars concerning which we had given you secret instructions, as also even in that to do nothing but by your especial directions) it is possible we might have thought fit to have given unto the said Earl of Glamorgan such a credential as might give him credit with the Roman Catholics, in case you should find occasion to make use of him, either as a farther assurance unto them of what you should privately promise, or in case you should judge it necessary to manage those matters for

their greater confidence apart by him, of whom, in regard of his religion and interest, they might be less jealous. This is all, and the very bottom of what we might have possibly entrusted unto the said Earl of Glamorgan in this affair." (1)

With this letter to the Irish Council, the King sent two others. One was addressed to Ormond (2), assenting, on the word of a Christian, that he never intended Glamorgan to treat of anything without Ormond's knowledge and approbation, but at the same time commanding Ormond to suspend the execution of any sentence which might be pronounced, against that nobleman. The second, dated February 3rd, 1646, was to Glamorgan himself.

The King to the Earl of Glamorgan. (3)

"GLAMORGAN,

"I must clearly tell you, both you and I have been abused in this business: for you have been drawn to consent to conditions much beyond your instructions, and your treaty hath been divulged to all the world. If you had advised with my lord-lieutenant, as you promised me, all this had been helped. But we must look forward. Wherefore, in a word, I have commanded as much favour to be shewn to you as may possibly stand with my service or safety: and if you will yet trust my advice—which I have commanded Digby to give you freely—I will bring you so off that you may still be useful to me, and I shall be able to recompense you for your affection; if not, I cannot tell what to say. But I will not doubt your compliance in this, since it so highly concerns the good of all my crowns, my own particular, and to make me have still means to shew myself,

"Your most assured friend,

"CHARLES R."

"Oxford, Feb. 3, 1645 (1646)."

To sum up: Glamorgan, as a devoted Royalist, and as a Roman Catholic, was commissioned by the King to enter into secret negotiations with the Confederate Roman Catholics in Ireland to send 10,000 troops to the King. Glamorgan was to consult freely the Marquess of Ormond, the King's Lieutenant in Ireland; but Glamorgan was to appear alone

(1) Carte's "Ormond": iii. 446. Lingard x. 417.
(2) Vide Chapter xviii. p. 382.
(3) Lingard x. 417, 418.

in the Treaty, and, if by any accident, the Treaty should be discovered by the Roundheads, Glamorgan consented that the King should disavow the plan, until happier times should permit. But Glamorgan exceeded his instructions: he granted more to the Roman Catholics than he had been authorized to do, and he failed to take Ormond into his confidence. The Treaty of Glamorgan was discovered by the Parliament. In defence of the royal cause, the Treaty was disavowed, and Glamorgan placed under slight imprisonment.

Note (F) Chapter XIII. p. 300.

Eikon Basilike.

By the courtesy of Miss Phillimore of Shiplake House, Henley-on-Thames, I am permitted to quote, from her Preface to The Royalist Calendar of 1923, the following facts:

"The first edition of this Book, which went through fifty editions in a twelvemonth, was published January 31, 1648 (1649).

"The effect upon the popular mind was immediate and the reaction in favour of the Royal Martyr so alarming, that Cromwell and his Council of State found that their interest required that the work should be brought immediately into disrepute. So they set Milton to 'break the Royal Image,' and they sent for William Levett, page to 'the late King,' who tells us as follows that there was 'a great search' after the Printing presses, and Richard Royston, the King's Printer, was summoned by Bradshaw to Whitehall,

"'where they examined him about the printing of the said book, promising him great rewards if he would deny that, tho' printed, it was the King's and threatening him with great severity if he own'd it to bee the said King's, but he constantly affirmed that he printed it by His Majesty's special order, after the Martyrdome of his glorious Majesty; so that neither their promise of reward, nor their threatening of punishment prevailed with him; wherefore they immediately kept him a prisoner under a Messenger's hand about a fortnight.'"

As for the claim of Dr. Gauden to the authorship of *Eikon Basilike*: "Here follows the statement of what really occurred. It was the critical moment when the Manuscript had passed out of the King's keeping, and, in the custody of Dr. Symons,

was being conveyed to the Printer in London, already furnished with the King's injunctions concerning it . . . On his way to London with his precious charge [Dr. Symons] broke his journey at Bocking in Essex, the residence of his friend Dr. Gauden. A zeal for the Royalist Cause was the bond between the two friends, so that, when Dr. Gauden begged to see the Royal MS., the request was immediately granted.

"Here is the statement of Mr. Le Pla, Minister of Finchinfield, about six miles from Gauden's Rectory at Bocking. His letter, dated Nov. 26, 1696, describes a certain William Allen, a servant for many years in Gauden's family, 'who came to see me; and after dinner, being alone with him, I fell into discourse with him about Dr. Gauden, and the King's book. He said most people thought his master to be the Author of it. I told him I could never believe it for some reasons that I gave him. Whereupon he smiled and told me he could say more to that business than any man, for that Dr. Gauden told him he had borrowed the book, and was obliged to return it by such a time; that besides what other time he might employ in it, he sate up one whole night to transcribe it. That he, William Allen, sate up in the chamber with him to wait upon him, to make his fires and snuff his candles . . . I think he said this book was borrowed of Mr. Symmons of Raine, one of the King's Chaplains. That which makes it very probable that Dr. Gauden had the book from Mr. Symmons is the near neighbourhood and great familiarity between them. Allen could read and write very well, and so could not easily be deceived either in the book or in his master; though the Doctor had not told him that it was none of his.'"

Note (G) Chapter XIII. p. 306.

Arthur, Lord Capel.

The name of this loyal servant of King Charles deserves more than a passing notice. He was elected a member of the Short and the Long Parliaments in 1640, for Hertfordshire. At first, he opposed the policy of the Court, but very soon, like so many of the noblest characters of the time, he allied himself with the King's cause. The King himself was so deeply impressed by the loyal services of Capel, that he asked the Queen to suggest in what way he could best shew his

appreciation. In August, 1641, he raised Capel to the peerage with the title of Baron Capel of Hadham. Upon the outbreak of the Civil War, Capel was given the command of Shropshire, Cheshire and North Wales. Later, he was made one of the Prince of Wales' Councillors, and he served as a royal commissioner in the Treaty of Uxbridge. He attended the Queen in her flight to France in 1645. He was associated with Hyde and Colepepper in the Prince of Wales' Council in the west. When the Prince left England for Scilly and Jersey, Lord Capel joined the army of Lord Hopton; but when the troops called upon Hopton to capitulate to Fairfax, and his officers declared that, if he did not consent, they would treat without him, neither Hopton nor Capel would be included in the capitulation, and they embarked to join the Prince in Scilly. Lord Capel returned to England, and was one of those who waited upon the King at Hampton Court in the autumn of 1647. During the King's imprisonment at Carisbrooke, he took part in raising forces for the Second Civil War, and together with Norwich, Lucas and Lisle, he made the gallant defence of Colchester. Reduced by famine, they opened the gates only on promise of quarter. But Fairfax and Ireton immediately violated their word by causing Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle to be shot in cold blood. In vain did Capel and the other prisoners plead that the execution should be suspended, or at least that all should undergo it together. Capel was reserved for another fate. He was thrown into the Tower, from which, however, he escaped. But his hiding-place was betrayed. He was captured, and again imprisoned. This time, he was brought before Cromwell's "High Court"; but, like his master, he refused as a soldier to recognise the jurisdiction of a civil tribunal over military actions. He was sentenced to a public execution, and, together with the Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Holland, he was beheaded in Palace Yard, Westminster, on March 9th, 1649. Lord Capel was greatly beloved by all who knew him. He was a man of deep religious feeling and exemplary life. He wrote "Daily Observations or Meditations: Divine, Moral." Bishop Morley, his friend, who was with him at his death, says "that one might easily perceive prayer was a thing he had so often exercised, that it was grown habitual to him." Upon the scaffold he shewed great magnanimity. He called upon the people to be loyal to the King of England. He

asked the executioner if the axe was the same which had been used at the death of King Charles only six weeks before. When told that it was, he kissed it reverently, as privileged to die by the same instrument as his sovereign. Such were the men who gave their lives cheerfully for King Charles the First. Of Capel, Cromwell said that he was too loyal to be allowed to live!

Note (H) Chapter XVIII. p. 382.

The King's Cabinet at Naseby.

These were the private letters of the King to his wife. They were found in the King's Cabinet amongst the royal baggage on the field of Naseby, June 14th, 1645, and they were published by order of the rebel Parliament to inflame popular feeling against the King. Of their publication the King himself thus speaks :—"The taking of my letters was an opportunity, which as the malice of my enemies could hardly have expected it, so they knew not how with honour and civility to use. Nor do I think, with sober and worthy minds, anything in them could tend so much to my reproach as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the divulgers. The greatest experiments of virtue and nobleness being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them. And such I should have esteemed the concealing of my papers, the freedom and secrecy of which command a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there anything more inhumane than to expose them to public view." (1)

Charles I. to the Queen. (2)

"December, 1644.

"Dear Heart,

"I know thy affection to me so truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much if not more trouble to find my reputation as my life in danger. Therefore, lest the false sound of my

(1) Halliwell ii., 357.
(2) The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645. Halliwell ii., 355-357.

offering a treaty to the rebels upon base and unsafe terms should disturb thy thoughts, I have thought it necessary (to assure thy mind from such rumours) to tell thee the ways I have used to come to a treaty, and upon what grounds.

"I shall, first, show thee my grounds, to the end thou mayest the better understand and approve of my ways : then, know as a certain truth, that all, even my party, are strangely impatient for peace, which obliged me so much the more, at all occasions, to show my real intentions to peace. And likewise, I am put in very good hope (some hold it a certainty) that, if I could come to a fair treaty, the ringleading rebels could not hinder me from a good peace : first, because their own party are most weary of the war, and likewise for the great distractions which at this time are most assuredly amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independents in religion, and general against general in point of command. Upon these grounds, a treaty being most desirable, not without hope of good successs, the most probable means to procure it was to be used, which might stand with honour and safety. Amongst the rest, the sound of my return to London was thought to have so much force of popular rhetoric in it, that upon it a treaty would be had, or if refused, it would bring much prejudice to them, and advantage to me. Yet, lest foolish or malicious people should interpret this as to proceed from fear or folly, I have joined conditions to the proposition (without which this sound will signify nothing) which thou wilt find to be most of the chief ingredients of an honourable and safe peace. Then, observe : if a treaty at London with commissioners for both sides may be had without it, it is not to be used ; nor in case they will treat with nobody but myself ; so that the conditions save any aspersion with dishonour ; and the treating at London, the malignity which our factious spirits here may infuse into this treaty upon this subject. This I hope will secure thee from the trouble which otherwise may be caused by false malicious rumours ; and, though I judge myself secure in thy thoughts from suspecting me guilty of any baseness, yet I hold this account necessary, to the end that thou make others know, as well as thyself, this certain truth—' That no danger of death or misery (which I think much worse) shall make me do anything unworthy of thy love.' "

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Charles I. to the Queen. (1)

"Oxford, 2nd January, 1645.

"DEAR HEART,

* * * * * *

"As for my calling those at London a Parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction: this in general: If there had been but two, besides myself, of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament; upon which condition and construction I did not, and no otherways; and accordingly by it is registered in the Council books, with the Council's unanimous approbation. But thou wilt find it was by misfortune, not neglect, that thou hast been no sooner advertised of it."

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Charles I. to the Queen. (2)

* * * * * *

"14th January, 1645.

"DEAR HEART,

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"As for the business itself, I mean the peace of Ireland, to show the care I have had of it and the fruits I hope to receive from it, I have sent the last despatches which I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thyself. Only, thou mayest in general let the Queen-regent and the ministers there understand that I have offered my Irish subjects so good satisfaction that a peace will shortly ensue; which I really believe. But, for God's sake! let none know the particulars of my despatches. I cannot but tell thee that I am much beholden to the Portugal agent, and little to the French; it being by his means that I have sent thee all my letters, besides expresses, since I came hither, though I expected most from Sabran.

"I will not trouble thee with repetitions of news, Digby's despatch being so full that I can add nothing. Yet I cannot but paraphrase a little upon that which he calls his superstitious observation. It is this: nothing can be more evident

(1) The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645. Halliwell ii., 358, 359.
(2) Halliwell ii., 360, 361.

than that Strafford's innocent blood hath been one of the great causes of God's just judgments upon this nation by a furious civil war, both sides being hitherto equally punished, as being, in a manner, equally guilty. But now this last crying blood being totally theirs, (1) I believe it is no presumption to hope hereafter that His hand of justice must be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon our cause, having passed by our faults."

The Queen was fearful of the King's trusting anything to the Parliament. In a letter dated January 27th, she says, "for the honour of God, trust not yourself in the hands of these people. If ever you go to London before the Parliament be ended, or without a good army, you are lost. I understand that the propositions for peace must begin by disbanding your army. If you consent to this, you are lost; they having the whole power of the militia, they have and will do whatsoever they will." (2)

Charles I. to the Queen. (3)
"30th January, 1645.

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"Now, as for the treaty which begins this day, (4) I desire thee to be confident that I shall never make a peace by abandoning my friends, nor such a one as will not stand with my honour and safety, of which I will say no more, because, knowing thy love, I am sure thou must believe me, and make others likewise confident of me."

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Charles to the Queen. (5)
"Oxford, 19th February, 1645.

"DEAR HEART,

"I cannot yet send thee any certain word concerning the issue of our treaty, (6) only the unreasonable stubbornness of the rebels gives daily less and less hopes of any accommodation

(1) The execution of Archbishop Laud, January 10th, 1645.
(2) Letter of the Queen to the King, dated January 27th, 1645, Halliwell ii., 362, Note.
(3) The King's Cabinet Opened. Halliwell ii., 362, 363.
(4) The Treaty of Uxbridge.
(5) The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645. Halliwell ii., 363-365.
(6) The Treaty of Uxbridge.

this way. Wherefore I hope no rumours will hinder thee from hastening all thou mayest all possible assistance to me, and particularly that of the Duke of Lorraine's; concerning which I received yesterday good news from Doctor Goff, that the Prince of Orange will furnish shipping for his transportation, and that the rest of his negociation goes hopefully on. By which and many other ways I find thy affection so accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether, in their several kinds, to esteem most. But I will say no more of this, lest thou mayest think that I pretend to do this way what is but possible to be done by the continued actions of my life.

* * * * * *

"As for trusting the rebels, either by going to London or by disbanding my army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly; for I esteem the interest thou hast in me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit than to put myself into the reverence of perfidious rebels. So, impatiently, expecting the express thou hast promised me, I rest eternally thine."

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Charles I. to the Queen. (1)

"25th February, 1645.

"DEAR HEART,

"The expectation of an express from thee, as I find by the 4th February, is very good news to me; as likewise that thou art now well satisfied with my diligence in writing. As to our treaty, there is every day less hopes than ever that it will produce a peace; but I will absolutely promise thee, that, if we have one, it shall be such as will invite thy return; for I avow that without thy company I can neither have peace nor comfort within myself. The limited days for treating with are now almost expired without the least agreement upon any one article; wherefore I have sent for enlargement of days, that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world. And I assure thee thou needst not doubt the issue of this treaty; for my commissioners are so well chosen (though I say it) that they will neither be threatened nor disputed

(1) The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645, Halliwell ii., 365, 366.

from the grounds I have given them, which (upon my word) is according to the little note thou so well rememberest. And in this, not only their obedience, but their judgments concur.

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"In short, there is *little* or no appearance but that this summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet; and be confident, that in making peace I shall ever show my constancy in adhering to bishops and all our friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual parliament. But, as thou lovest me, let none persuade thee to slacken thine assistance for him who is eternally thine."

"C. R."

Charles I. to the Queen. (1)

"5th March, 1645.

"DEAR HEART,

"Now is come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless end (as to a present peace) of this treaty; but I am still confident that I shall find very good effects of it; for besides that, my commissioners have offered (to say no more) full measured reason, and the rebels have stucken rigidly to their demands, which I dare say had been too much, though they had taken me prisoner, so that assuredly the breach will light foully upon them.

"We have likewise at this time discovered, and shall make it evidently appear to the world, that the English rebels (whether basely or ignorantly will be no very great difference) have, as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of Ireland from the crown of England to the Scots, which, besides the reflection it will have upon these rebels, will clearly show that reformation of the Church is not the chief, much less the only end, of the Scotch rebellion. But it being presumption, and no piety, so to trust to a good cause, and not to use all lawful means to maintain it, I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance than hitherto thou hast had. It is that I give thee power to promise in my name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in Ireland, as soon as God shall enable me to do it; so as by

(1) The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645. Halliwell ii., 366-368.

their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it.

"But if thou ask what I call that *assistance*, I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secrecy this business requires; yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can express to thee; for it is no thanks to me to trust thee in anything else but in this, which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt us. And yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for me even in this; I trusting thee, though it concern religion, as if thou wert a Protestant. The visible good of my affairs so much depending on it."

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Charles I. to the Queen. (1)

"Oxford, 20th March, 1645.

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"I am now full fraught with expectation (I pray God send me a good unlading) for I look daily for some blow of importance to be given about Taunton or Shrewsbury; and I am confidently assured of a considerable and sudden supply of men from Ireland, likewise the refractory horse (as the London rebels call them) may be reckoned in; for yet it is not known what fomenters they have or whether they have none; if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to me: howsoever, I doubt not but if they stand out, good use may be made of them. Of this I believe to give thee a perfecter account next week, having sent to try their pulses."

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Charles I. to the Queen. (2)

"Oxford, Thursday, 27th of March, 1645.

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"As for the main impediment in the Duke of Lorraine's business, which is his passage, why mayest thou not procure him passage through France, if that of Holland be stuck at? It will be much more secure, and facilitate the sea

(1) Ibid, 371.
(2) The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645, Halliwell ii., 372-373.

transportation in respect of landing on the western coast, which I believe will be found the best; there being not so many places to choose on any where else. But this is an opinion, not a direction.

"The general face of my affairs, methinks, begins to mend; the dissensions at London rather increasing than ceasing, Montrose daily prospering, my western business mending apace, and hopeful in all the rest. So that if I had reasonable supplies of money and powder (not to exclude any other) I am confident to be in a better condition this year than I have been since this rebellion began. And possibly I may put fair for the whole, and so enjoy thy company again, without which nothing can be a contentment to me. And so farewell, dear heart.

* * * * * *

"I desire thee to command Lord Jermyn to read to thee the duke's letter, which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the transportation of the Duke of Lorraine's army."

Charles I. to the Queen. (1)

"Oxford, Sunday, 30th of March, 1645.

* * * * * *

"I must again tell thee, that most assuredly France will be the best way for transportation of the Duke of Lorraine's army, there being divers fit and safe places of landing for them upon the western coasts, besides the ports under my obedience, as Shelsea, near Chichester and others; of which I will advertise thee when the time comes.

"By my next I think to tell thee when I shall march into the field, for which money is now his greatest want (I need say no more) who is eternally thine."

Of the letters, quoted in full, or of the passages taken from others, I have been at pains to select only those which, from the Parliament's point of view, would seem most to incriminate the King. And, when the private nature of the correspondence between husband and wife is considered also, the grounds for any incrimination whatsoever seem absurdly weak.

(1) Ibid, 375.

Note (I) Chapter XVIII. p. 383.

The Letter in the Saddle-cloth.

The following is taken from Hume's Note (L.), p. 259, vol. v. 562: Salmonet, Ludlow, Hollis, etc., all these, especially the last, being the declared inveterate enemies of Cromwell, are the more to be credited when they advance any fact which may serve to apologize for his violent and criminal conduct. There prevails a story that Cromwell intercepted a letter written to the Queen, where the King said that he could first raise and then destroy Cromwell. But besides that this conduct seems to contradict the character of the King, it is, on other accounts, totally unworthy of credit. It is first told by Roger Coke, a very passionate and foolish historian, who wrote, too, so late as King William's reign; and even he mentions it only as a mere rumour or hearsay, without any known foundation. In the Memoirs of Lord Broghill we meet with another story of an intercepted letter, which deserves some more attention and agrees very well with the narration here given. It is thus related by Mr. Maurice, Chaplain to Roger, Earl of Orrery: "Lord Orrery, in the time of his greatness with Cromwell, just after he had so seasonably relieved him in his distress at Clonmel, riding out of Youghall one day with him and Ireton, they fell into discourse about the King's death. Cromwell thereupon said more than once that, if the King had followed his own judgment, and had been attended by none but trusty servants, he had fooled them all; and that once they had a mind to have closed with him, but, upon something that happened, fell off from that design. Orrery, finding them in good humour, and being alone with them, asked if he might presume to desire to know why they would once have closed with his Majesty, and why they did not? Cromwell very freely told him he would satisfy him in both his queries. 'The reason,' says he, 'why we would have closed with the King was this: we found that the Scotch and Presbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were likely to agree with him and leave us in the lurch. For this reason we thought it best to prevent them by offering first to come in upon reasonable conditions. But while our thoughts were taken up with this subject, there came a letter to us from one of our spies, who was of the King's bed-chamber, acquainting us

that our final doom was decreed that very day; that he could not possibly learn what it was, but we might discover it, if we could but intercept a letter sent from the King to the Queen, wherein he informed her of his resolution; that this letter was sewn up in the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it would come with the saddle upon his head, about ten of the clock that night, to the Blue Boar in Holborn, where he was to take horse for Dover. The messenger knew nothing of the letter in the saddle, though some in Dover did. We were at Windsor,' said Cromwell, 'when we received this letter, and, immediately upon the receipt of it, Ireton and I resolved to take one trusty fellow with us, and to go in troopers' habits to that inn. We did so; and, leaving our man at the gate of the inn (which had a wicket only open to persons in and out) to watch and give us notice when any man came in with a saddle, we went into a drinking-stall. We there continued drinking cans of beer till about ten of the clock, when our sentinel at the gate gave us notice that the man with the saddle was come. We rose up presently, and, just as the man was leading out his horse saddled, we came up to him with drawn swords and told him we were to search all that went in and out there; but, as he looked like an honest man, we would only search his saddle, and so dismiss him. The saddle was ungirt, we carried it into the stall where we had been drinking, and, ripping open one of the skirts, we there found the letter we wanted. Having thus got it into our hands, we delivered the man (whom we had left with our sentinel) his saddle, told him he was an honest fellow, and bade him go about his business; which he did, pursuing his journey without more ado, and ignorant of the harm he had suffered. We found in the letter that his Majesty acquainted the Queen that he was courted by both factions—the Scotch Presbyterians and the army—and those that bade the fairest for him should have him; but yet he thought he should close with the Scots sooner than with the other. Upon this we returned to Windsor; and, finding we were not likely to have good terms from the King, we from that time vowed his destruction.'"

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